The Messages of The Bible

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The Messages of the Bible

EDITED BY

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PROFESSOR FRANK K. SANDERS, PH.D.
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AND
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of Yale University

VOLUME VIII

THE MESSAGES OF THE APOCALYPTICAL WRITERS

THE MESSAGES OF THE APOCALYPTICAL WRITERS

THE BOOKS OF DANIEL AND REVELATION
AND SOME UNCANONICAL APOCALYPSES
WITH HISTORICAL INTRODUCTIONS AND
A FREE RENDERING IN PARAPHRASE

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BY
FRANK CHAMBERLIN PORTER, PH.D., D.D.
Winkley Professor of Biblical Theology in
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To

MY FATHER

ONE OF THOSE WHO SEE

IN DAILY LIFE AND COMMON THINGS

A REVELATION OF GOD

PREFACE

The books of Daniel and Revelation are rather a perplexity than a comfort to the average reader of the Bible. Some, indeed, in every age have taken delight in these books above all others just because of their mystery, but for the majority, apart from the impressive admonitions in the letters at the beginning of Revelation, and the glowing pictures of the New Jerusalem at the end, these have been sealed books. In quite recent times the historical method has, it is not too much to say, broken the seals. To the historical student these apocalypses have become, in their general character and chief message, among the best instead of quite the least understood books of the canon. And their importance has grown with their understanding. Out of the background to which they were relegated they have suddenly been pushed far forward, too far it may be, into the front rank of historical documents. They are no longer supposed to cast light upon the actual constitution of the unseen universe, or upon our own present, and the time and manner of the end of the world; but they are found in a high degree illuminating

in regard to a past history, one moreover, with which we are deeply concerned. It is, so we are now told, chiefly from the apocalypses, canonical and uncanonical, that we are to gain an understanding of the Jewish religion of the time of Christ. It is from these books that we are to get a true conception of the faiths and hopes, the motives and emotions of primitive Christianity. They are to serve as one of our chief helps to an understanding of the Pauline Christology, and even as our principal way of approach to that central and supreme problem of historian and theologian alike, the Messianic self-consciousness of Jesus himself. The apocalyptic eschatology was, we are now assured, the source and soul of Christ's own faith in his mission and in the coming Kingdom of God. Hence the new zest with which the modern scholar approaches the study of the apocalypses. His hope is through these strange books, not to unveil the future, but to enter deeply into the inner life of Judaism during a critical and fateful epoch of its history, and ultimately to lift the veil of a mystery that attracts and baffles him far more than does the mystery of the angel world or even that of the future, the mystery of the personality of Jesus Christ. This ultimate historical significance of apocalyptical studies lies beyond the range of our present modest undertaking. The fact that such significance is claimed for them by many of our best scholars, whatever may be the precise measure of

truth in the claim, at least illustrates the importance of an understanding of the historical approach to this literature, and justifies the attempt to make historical methods and results in this region familiar to a somewhat wider circle of readers and students of the Bible. It is true that the effort to make intelligible the general character and message of the apocalypses may seem anything but a modest one, since in the common opinion these books cannot be understood, and probably were not meant to be. But it is certain that the historical method of Biblical study has nowhere vindicated itself more conspicuously than in the investigation of this literature, and nowhere produced results more radical and at the same time more convincing. It should be possible in a book like this to introduce some readers to whom these results are not yet familiar to the new method and its general outcome. It can surely be made clear to unprejudiced minds that it is impossible to understand the apocalypses apart from the political situations and the party divisions and conflicts that called them forth. It can be shown how the apocalypse stands related to prophecy, how wide its divergence and how close its dependence. It can be made plain, in other words, that the mysteries that perplex us in these books find their explanation rather in events and conditions of their own times and in books and traditions of their past, than in events future to their writers and perhaps future still to us.

In this little book on apocalypses the reader will find, therefore, no flights of fancy, and no ecstasies of emotion, but much history, many references to Old Testament prophecy, many discussions of ancient traditions and their remote and sometimes foreign beginnings, and of course throughout not much that is new, but a constant use of the work of recent scholarship. In comparison with other books in this series of Messages the proportion of introduction and notes may seem large, but the way to an understanding of these books is indirect, and more misleading and treacherous paths have been started in this region than in any other, so that some greater pains to get our feet on firm ground and find an open path seemed to be required.

No doubt some who have no quarrel with historical methods in themselves will yet protest that a treatment of the apocalypses in which imagination and emotion are repressed fails to appreciate these books in their true character. They belong essentially, it may be said, to poetic literature. They are meant precisely to stimulate the imagination and stir the feelings. It is better for us to let our minds soar in such company than to try to get our feet upon the ground. Against such possible criticism the book must be left to justify itself if it can. It is hoped that the poetic value of the apocalypses has been given a measure of recognition. There is indeed no higher

or more fitting use to which such books can be put than the use which the last chapters of Revelation find in the burial liturgy. If we could grasp the underlying faiths that have clothed themselves in these strange forms, faith in the kingship of God, and the sure triumph of good over evil, and the heavenly blessedness of those who hold to God's side amid whatever shame and abuse and in the face of death; if through the peculiar imagery and obscure symbolism of the books we could feel the power of the unseen world and gain a fresh sense of its reality; then this use, call it literary, or call it devotional, would be the best use to which the books could be put, and even most in accordance with the highest mood and real purpose of their writers. Then the protest against an unemotional, scientific treatment of such literature would be not without foundation, though even then not wholly justified. We have a poet's treatment of Revelation in Christina Rossetti's *The Face of the Deep*. She finds Patience as our lesson in the book. Besides mysteries that no insight or profundity of mortal man can explain she reads also throughout clear and definite lessons enforcing what we must or must not do or be, and sees the purpose of it all in this, that we fear God and keep his commandments. We have learned enough when we have learned his will. Not attempting much interpretation, she finds in the book constant incitements to meditation, prayer and song. Giving up the effort to

discern the unity and sequence that must bind it together, studying it only piece by piece, word by word, she is satisfied if it but summon her to watch and pray and give thanks, and urge her to climb heavenward. Such an aim is surely the highest, incomparably better than that of those who search the book for predictions of the course of history and the time of the end. Yet we find with regret that the lack of a reasonable view of the historical place and character of the Apocalypse involves the assumption of mistaken and impossible views, so that this poet's commentary is not a book that most of us can use with full sympathy and the best profit for its intended purpose, devotion.

In truth much in the apocalypses cannot easily be read as the poetry of faith and hope; and in general these books have not been read as poetry, but the poetic character which in some degree they have has been obscured. They have been taken much more literally than their authors intended, as disclosures of details of the future, and quite contrary to their intention as if they concerned remote times. With reverence and awe, with infinite patience and ingenuity men have sought from early times until now to find the place and meaning of their own present in the apocalyptic scheme, and to reckon the time remaining before the end of the world. The historical studies which make such an appraisal of these books impossible may clear the way for a truer appreciation of the life of faith

and feeling that flows beneath them. No doubt historical studies will sober the eager longings and high expectations with which the devout poet approaches the Apocalypse, yet such studies should open rather than blind our eyes to the genuineness and intensity of the religious convictions and emotions which produced these books and were called forth by them. Surely from books that inspired martyrs, faith can gain inspiration in all ages for the victory that overcomes the world. But if we are to make our way through the difficult form to the abiding treasure of these books we must read them not only with the spirit but with the understanding also.

As helps to the understanding the introductions and paraphrases here given are intended to serve. The paraphrases should not be regarded as attempts, in the phrase of a recent essayist, at "improving the style of the Bible." They are meant to be read by the side of the familiar versions, not in their place; as a brief commentary, not as a piece of religious literature. Without the poetic form and fervor of the original though they be, and adverse to many of the uses to which religious fancy has put these books, it is hoped that they may yet help to prepare some minds for a more deeply appreciative and religiously helpful use of them. They may at least make a fresh impression of the significance of two of the greater crises in the history of religion, the struggle of Judaism with Antiochus and

Hellenism, and the struggle of Christianity with Rome; and may give a more vivid sense of the mystery of the divine Providence which orders human history, overruling evil for good, humbling the proud and exalting the lowly, restraining the wrath of man and vindicating his faith,—that all-comprehending Providence in which the apocalyptical writers so deeply believed, whose ways they so earnestly sought to explore.

FRANK C. PORTER.

YALE UNIVERSITY, *January*, 1905.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

I

THE APOCALYPTICAL BOOKS, THEIR NUMBER AND SCOPE

The period of the apocalyptical literature, and its great events

The Jewish apocalypses are one of the most characteristic products of a distinct and important period in the history of Judaism, that from about 168 B. C. to about 100 A. D. The period begins with the persecution by Antiochus IV, the successful resistance of Judas Maccabeus, and the rise of the independent Jewish kingdom of the Maccabees. It ends with the unsuccessful revolt of Judaism against Rome, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the end of the separate political existence of the Jewish community. It was the only period during its whole post-exilic history when Judaism was seriously possessed by the ambition, in part actually realized, of being again an independent nation. The apocalypses may be said to be the most important documents of the revived national faith which first inspired Judas and his followers and created the Hasmonean kingdom, and then at last inspired the Zealots and led to the suicidal attempt against Rome. Between these two crises lie some great events in Jewish history,

especially the fall of the Jewish kingdom at the hands of Rome under Pompey, 63 B. C., and also a long and intense rivalry of conflicting parties, the Pharisees and Sadducees. It is from the apocalypses that we get most light on these events and conditions. But more important still, this is the period of the rise of Christianity, and the apocalypses represent that side of Judaism with which Christianity was at first in closest relation. We cannot, of course, truly say that the apocalypses produced, first the Jewish kingdom, then the Christian religion, then the fall of Jerusalem, and so as a consequence the purely legalistic type of Judaism. A great man, Judas, produced the Maccabean kingdom. The supreme man, Jesus, created the Christian religion. The personal element had a great part also in the tragedy that ended the Jewish state. It is true, however, that the apocalypses are most closely connected with these events, and that we need not only the events to help us interpret the books, but the books to enable us to understand the events, especially on their inner side, the ideals and motives and emotions that entered into them. Since this can be said of the second of these events, the rise of Christianity, as well as of the other two, the study of the apocalypses is still of vital and intense interest to us of to-day.

The apocalypses represented a revival of prophecy. They are the latest type of Jewish prophetic writing. The revival of prophecy in Judaism meant the revival of na-

tional hopes and efforts. When these at last failed, Judaism dropped its apocalypses and settled back into legalism. But Christianity was a revival of prophecy, not indeed in a national, but in an anti-legal sense. Anticipating the fall of Jerusalem, it looked forward to events of a more transcendent character, the coming again of Jesus as the Messiah-Judge, the end of this world and the beginning of the world to come. The Jewish apocalypses, though they were national, contained this transcendent element, and could be appropriated by Christians and could help them to express and elaborate and prove their new hopes centring in Jesus. The important use made of Daniel, apparently by Jesus himself, and certainly by his first followers, is very significant. Many conceptions developed in other Jewish apocalypses regarding the angel world, the Messianic judgment and the future life, conceptions not found or not elaborated in the Old Testament, are adopted by New Testament writers; and the New Testament contains an apocalypse of its own, quite after the Jewish type.

The passing of the apocalypse from Judaism to Christianity

It is not strange therefore that the Jewish apocalypses passed over from Judaism to Christianity, and the preservation of all that we have, after Daniel, is due to their use by Christians and their inclusion in the Old Testament scriptures of various Christian communities.

They circulated at first in Greek versions of the Hebrew or Aramaic originals. But none of them is found in existing manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament; hence

The loss of the original Hebrew or Aramaic texts

we possess usually only a translation from the Greek into Ethiopic, Syriac, Latin or some other tongue. Thus we have the Book of Enoch entire only in Ethiopic; the Apocalypse of Baruch in one manuscript of the Syriac scriptures; while the Apocalypse of Ezra was so widely circulated in Christian communities that we have several ancient versions of it, and because it was in the old Latin Bible it has a place in our English Apocrypha (2 Esdras).

Loss of many of the books

But a great many Jewish apocalypses were not received into the Old Testament of any Christian Church, and are therefore completely lost, name and all. Some that were current for a while are known to us only by a few citations, or only by name. We probably possess those that the early Christians most valued, but as historians we should be especially glad to have those also which Christians did not find useful, for we are as much interested in the differences as in the likenesses between Judaism and Christianity.

of which the number was great

One of the last Jewish apocalypses contains a legend of Ezra's rewriting of the Old Testament after its supposed destruction at the Exile. According to this story Ezra was inspired to dictate to his scribes ninety-four books in forty days, and was commanded to publish twenty-four of them, so that men of all sorts could read them—that is, the Old Testament canon—but to give seventy to the wise, because of the peculiar wealth of wisdom which they contained (2 Esdras 14: 19–48). The story, legen-

dary though it is, reveals both the great number of apocalyptical books and also the high valuation that certain Jews put upon them. Ezra's work was, indeed, only a reproduction of that of Moses, for he also, according to the story, published only a part of what God revealed to him, and hid the rest, "the secrets of the times and the end of the times" (2 Esdras 14: 5, 6).

They were called *apocrypha*

The story suggests further the meaning of the name by which the apocalypses were originally known, *apocrypha*, secret books. They were literally hidden in certain circles of Jews, esoteric books, and they had to do, also, with secrets of earth and heaven and of the future. It is in many ways unfortunate that the title, Apocrypha, was transferred to a wholly different class of books and given the wholly different sense of *uncanonical*. The use of the title, apocalypse, seems to come from the Christian Apocalypse.[1] Other current titles were, Vision, Assumption, Prophecy.

Extant Jewish apocalypses

Of the extant apocalypses the list with approximate dates is as follows:

1. Daniel. 167–165 B. C.
2. Enoch.
   (a) Ethiopic Book of Enoch.
   Ch. 1–36, 72–108, about 100 B. C. and later.
   Ch. 37–71 "Similitudes," probably not long before Christ.
   (b) Slavonic Secrets of Enoch. Before 70 A. D.

[1] Rev. 1:1.

3. Assumption of Moses. 4 B. C.–10 A. D.
4. Apocalypse of Ezra (2 Esdras 3–14). 90–100 A. D.
5. Apocalypse of Baruch. 90–100 A. D.
6. Apocalypse of Abraham. Perhaps first century A. D.
7. Testaments of the Patriarchs. Probably first century A. D.

A corresponding type of writing among Hellenistic Jews is found in the Sibylline Oracles, composed after heathen models. Closely related to the apocalyptical books are the Psalms of Solomon, or Psalms of the Pharisees, 64–40 B. C., the Book of Jubilees, probably before Christ, and the Ascension of Isaiah (Jewish part probably the Martyrdom of Isaiah, 2 : 1–3 : 12 and 5 : 2–14).

Others known by title

Besides these extant books, four, evidently of the same sort, are known only by a few citations in Origen or earlier church fathers:

1. The Prayer of Joseph.
2. The Book of Eldad and Modad.
3. The Apocalypse of Elijah.
4. The Apocalypse of Zephaniah.

In addition to these we know a few titles of books that may have been of Jewish origin: Pseudepigrapha of Baruch, Habakkuk, Ezekiel, and Daniel.

Christian apocalypses

For the most part Christian writers were content to interpret and sometimes revise Jewish apocalypses. This had the apologetic advantage of claiming the support of ancient Jewish patriarchs and prophets for the new faith.

Much the most significant Christian apocalypse is of course the canonical Book of Revelation. Some, we shall see, regard even this as a Jewish apocalypse in a Christian revision, and no doubt it draws largely from Jewish traditions. The Apocalypse of Peter, of which a large fragment was published in 1892, deserves second place, as it made strong claims for a time to canonicity, and has had a great influence on later Christian ideas of heaven and hell. This is as strongly Greek as Revelation is Jewish, having a close relation to the Greek Orphic literature. It concerns the lot of souls after death, whereas Revelation, like the Jewish apocalypses, is more concerned with the course of world history. A somewhat later book of great popularity, which deserves to be called an apocalypse, is the Shepherd of Hermas.

To these may be added the Christian parts of the Ascension of Isaiah (all except 2 : 1–3 : 12, 5 : 2–14); Second Esdras 1–2, 15–16, sometimes cited as Fifth and Sixth Ezra; and the Christian parts of the Sibylline Oracles.[1]

[1] All these are collected in German in Hennecke's *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen.* 1904.

II

THEIR HISTORICAL PLACE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Judaism and its foreign oppressors

The first fully formed apocalypse, and the type of this sort of writing, is the Book of Daniel. This book was occasioned, as we shall see more fully further on, by the attempt of Antiochus IV to root out the Jewish religion and forcibly convert the Jews to the Greek religion. Their reaction against this assault, as they regarded it, upon Jehovah himself was so vigorous that it carried them, under the able leadership of Judas and his brothers, beyond their former tolerable condition of religious liberty under foreign political rule to a practical political independence, which they kept for a century. Then the Maccabean kingdom fell to pieces, and Rome took direct possession of the land of the Jews (63 B. C.). Rome now took the place, which Greece formerly held, of the foreign ruling power that stood between Israel and its destiny of world-rulership. We need not here describe the varying forms of the Roman rule, whether through the Herods or through the procurators. A growing protest of the suppressed national spirit against the arrogant claims of Rome can be heard. A crisis was narrowly averted when Caligula ordered his image set up in the temple. The inevitable revolt finally came which led to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and the end of all that remained of national

existence for the Jews. The Jewish apocalyptical literature begins, then, in Daniel, as an intense affirmation of faith in Israel's God against the sacrilegious efforts of the Greek king. It was the product of a crisis in which the Jewish religion was itself at stake. It reached its culmination and came to an end in connection with the actual destruction of the temple and the holy city by Rome. In the period intervening the varying fortunes of the religious party form its background.

The religious and the political parties in Judaism

The old religious party of the Chasidim, whose voice is heard in Daniel, at first welcomed the armed resistance of Judas, though they could not regard it as more than a little help (Dan. 11: 34; 1 Mac. 2: 42). The great help was to come from God. But it is evident that they did not sympathize with the effort of the Maccabean brothers to gain political independence, after religious toleration had been restored (1 Mac. 7: 12 ff.), and they protested vehemently against the assumption of the high priesthood by the Maccabean princes. Out of this separation grew an intense antagonism resulting sometimes in civil war. The party of the Chasidim became the Pharisees, the "separatists," and those whom they opposed, the ruling house and its priestly supporters, the court party, became known as Sadducees.[1] So the earlier antagonism between the religious and the extreme Hellenizing party, whose apostasy culminated in the effort of Antiochus, was changed

[1] Probably from Zadok, the founder of the Jerusalem priesthood.

by the Maccabean wars, which brought this ultra-Hellenism to an end, into a new form; but it was still the old hostility between the religious and the worldly life and ideals. The Pharisees had a more intense hatred of the aristocratic Sadducees than they had of foreign rulers, yet the charge they brought against the Sadducees was that of too great friendliness and conformity to the heathen world.

The apocalypse directed against the heathen oppressor or heathen influence

It would, then, depend on circumstances whether the Pharisaic prophet was moved to write visions against the heathen oppressor, or the heathen-minded Jewish aristocracy. In either case the great theme of the apocalypse is the nearness of the day of Jehovah's triumph over the heathen and the vindication and glorification of his true people. The greatest apocalypses are written directly against the ruling heathen powers: Daniel against the Greek-Syrian kingdom, Second Esdras against Rome, and the Book of Revelation also against Rome in behalf of the new Christian Israel. These appeared at crises in which the religious community had come into collision with the great world-empire. Another such crisis, that brought on by Caligula's attempt to have his image worshipped in the temple, could well have called forth apocalyptical warnings and promises of the same order. It is in fact quite possible that an oracle from that time is used in Revelation 13. So one from the actual days of the siege of Jerusalem is probably to be found in Revelation 11. Pom-

pey's conquest of Jerusalem was the occasion of some striking Messianic Psalms from the Pharisaic party, the so-called Psalms of Solomon, which betray something of the apocalyptical spirit, but we have no apocalypse proper from that epoch. These Psalms assail not so much Rome, though Pompey's fate is described as a just judgment, as rather the degenerate Jewish aristocracy whose rule is worse than that of the heathen. It is this party animus which avails itself of the apocalyptical form in Enoch 1–36, 72–105, and in other apocalypses.

The party to which the apocalypses belonged

There are some, however, who believe that the party whose rights and hopes are affirmed in the apocalypses is not the Pharisaic but the Essene. This raises an important question, for the Pharisees early became the recognized representatives of correct Judaism, while the Essenes formed only a small sect or order, always isolated and peculiar. It is important to know whether the beliefs and hopes of the apocalypses were commonly held by the more religious Jews of this period, or were the vagaries of insignificant circles.

Final character of Pharisaism, legal, not apocalyptical

The final and characteristic work of the Pharisees was the elaborate exposition of the law, of which the Talmud was the outcome. The prominent Pharisaic scribes before the time of Christ, such as Hillel and Shammai, were occupied with legal and moral questions, not with the unseen world and the future. We should infer from the Gospels that the Pharisees were more concerned with the

law, and the common people with the national and apocalyptical hopes. It is true also that the Pharisaic rabbis did not in the end care for the apocalypses, and that these books would have been almost entirely lost if Christians had not valued and kept them. Yet all this does not justify the opinion especially of Jewish historians that the apocalypses came from a wholly different sect, probably the Essenes, and that the Pharisees never wrote nor valued them. Judaism in the century before Christ was a much more complex phenomenon than it was after the destruction of Jerusalem, and Pharisaism was not always what it then came to be. The Psalms of Solomon are the classic product of Pharisaism about 60–40 B. C., and evidently then the Messianic hope was of more vital interest to the party than details of legal interpretation. On the other hand Daniel and its successors represent a strictly legal piety; but when legal righteousness has to maintain itself at a cost, and must condemn not only the princes, but at the same time the priests, the official representatives of its own religion, it is inevitably inspired by something like the apocalyptical temper. When the Pharisees themselves displaced the priests, after 70 A. D., as the undisputed heads of the Jewish religion, this temper would change, for the apocalypse is always the protest of those who are weak and oppressed and whose faith demands a speedy change in the present intolerable condition. Furthermore the Pharisees belonged at first to the laity, but they

The earlier type of Pharisaism, that which the apocalypses represented

gradually became a learned class, professional theologians. Now apocalypses are adapted to the lay, not to the professional, mind. They are filled with fancies and figures that appeal to the uninstructed imagination with its love of the fantastic and the mysterious. They do not appeal at all to the scholastic mind. Hence it would not be strange if Pharisees wrote apocalypses in the years of their sufferings and struggles, and disavowed them in the time of their power. The complexity of Judaism in the earlier period is indicated by the Book of Jubilees, which is chiefly occupied with Pharisaic legalism, yet contains many apocalyptical features, and makes considerable use of the Book of Enoch. In the Assumption of Moses also we have a blending of the Pharisaic with the priestly type on the one side, and on the other a union of strict legalism with an eager expectation of the speedy coming of God. This combination is quite natural in the early times of Pharisaism, when the observance of the law brought, not glory, but poverty and peril.

The secret books of the Essenes

It is true nevertheless that a somewhat impressive case can be made out for the position that the apocalypses are the secret books of the Essenes. Josephus tells us that they had and valued such books. He says that they derived from the writings of the ancients a knowledge of the healing properties of plants and stones, and that from the holy books they were able to predict future events. We are led to suppose that their secret books contained medical lore

and magical formulas or other methods of augury for determining the future. Josephus records a number of instances of their successful predictions, and, since they were known as prophets, their books may well have had a prophetic character. Josephus also gives us reason for assuming that the books would contain many names of angels, of magical value, and perhaps descriptions of the fortunes of souls after death.

Essenic features in our apocalypses

Now the apocalypses do contain many names of angels, much nature lore, especially astrological, and predictions of the future. In some of them can be found speculations about the future lot of souls. They reveal also a somewhat ascetic attitude, a contempt of the world and the ideal of separation from it, which Essenism certainly represented. One of the most peculiar marks of the Essenes was their refusal to take part in the temple sacrifices. Our apocalypses contain some depreciating judgments on the second temple and its rites, which could be Essenic in origin (*e.g.*, En. 89 : 50, 73 ; 90 : 28 f.). Especially in the Assumption of Moses do we find a judgment as to the temple and its priesthood which sounds Essenic (chs. 5–7).

Arguments against Essenic authorship

We can, then, easily understand the judgment of Wellhausen that "the secret literature of the Essenes was perhaps in no small degree made use of in the Pseudepigrapha, and has through them been indirectly handed down to us." Others, however, are still more guarded, and think that the apocalyptical and the Essenic tendencies could per-

fectly well be related and parallel, but not identical. It is quite possible, for example, that distrust of the priests and depreciation of their sacrifices, resting in part on the ancient prophets, in part on the character and actions of the Maccabean priest-kings, was wide-spread among the Jewish people. On the whole the view that our apocalypses are distinctively Essenic books is not convincing. We do not certainly know that the Messianic element, which is central in the apocalypse, characterized the Essenes at all; and on the other hand certain foreign rites and customs which most distinguished them have no place in the apocalypses.

Conclusion as to the place of apocalypses in Judaism

Our conclusion may well rest on the observation already made that apocalypses are books of and for the laity. Both learning and authority are unfavorable to the writing of such books: learning, because with it ordered thought takes the place of images whose appeal is to the fancy and to the child-nature in man; authority, because the apocalypse looks for divine interventions and reversals which those who are already prosperous and powerful do not expect or desire. Now at the beginning of their existence the Pharisees had little learning and no authority. The priests were the scholars and rulers of the Jewish community. The Pharisees led the lay protest against the indifference and corruption of the official religion, and the apocalypse was one form in which this protest found expression. Afterward, when they became absorbed in

legal learning, and when their power in the Sanhedrim and among the people increased, the apocalyptical form of writing and even of belief would become less congenial to them. The rise of Christianity in close connection with apocalyptical hopes would increase their aversion. It is true that hope never ceased to be an essential part of the Jewish religion. The prophetic promises must sometime be fulfilled. The subject people would be freed, its scattered members brought together from the ends of the earth. It would again have its judges and counsellors. Jerusalem would be rebuilt and God would again dwell in his city. The throne of David would be re-established, the temple sacrifices renewed, and the time of national peace and glory would come. But this is not the apocalyptical form of the hope, and the rabbis did not hold it in the intense, expectant, apocalyptical spirit. When Pharisaism fell back upon this older and simpler form of the national hope, it would no longer care for the apocalypse.

We need not then conclude that the apocalypses never represented average popular and even Pharisaic Judaism. We may on the contrary fairly assume that they represent an important aspect of Judaism during this period, and that the hopes and beliefs they express were those of many Jews of different sects, who agreed in condemnation of the priestly and Sadducean classes. Many Pharisees, many Essenes, and many of the common people may have agreed in this supernaturalistic form of the protest against

foreign power and influence without and within the Jewish community.

Representative value of apocalypses not to be exaggerated

Yet on the other hand it would not be right to suppose that all Jews shared the views these books present. There were many to whom the study and keeping of law was far more important than the study and elaboration of prophecy. There were those who found satisfaction in the books of wisdom. The contrast between the books of James and of Revelation in the New Testament, both of which are largely Jewish in character, suggests the contrasts in Judaism; and it is as important to study books like James, wisdom books, such as Ecclesiasticus and the Sayings of the Fathers, as it is to study books like Revelation, the apocalypses, Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, Second Esdras and the rest, if we would understand the Judaism of the time of Christ. These two sorts of books could not have been written by the same men nor valued by the same readers. The religion of some Jews was apocalyptical in character, that of others was ethical and intellectual, that of still others was legalistic. The fact that Christianity began very much in an apocalyptical spirit, with the expectation of a world crisis near at hand, gives to the study of the apocalypses a peculiar interest, but should not lead us to exaggerate the importance of this element in contemporary Judaism. Nor is it the only element of which serious account should be taken in the effort to explain the beginnings of Christianity.

III

THE RELATION OF APOCALYPSE TO PROPHECY

Close relation of apocalypse to late prophecy

The transition from prophecy to apocalypse was not sudden, and the Book of Daniel does not create a wholly new type of literature. Not only do the apocalyptical writers make much use of the prophetic books, but post-exilic prophecy, from Ezekiel on, develops in the apocalyptical direction. In order to understand the apocalypse, therefore, we must take account both of its dependence on prophecy and of the tendency of late prophecy to assume the apocalyptical type.

Apocalypse as the interpretation of unfulfilled prophecies

Some claim that the nature of the apocalypse can be wholly explained by saying that it is an attempt to interpret the unfulfilled predictions of the canonical prophets. There is much truth in this, though it is a one-sided view. The Old Testament prophecies contain two chief predictions, that of judgment upon Israel and that of its restoration. The prediction of judgment had been fully realized in the Exile, but the hope had not been realized in the return. Hence almost the whole element of hope in prophecy was to the mind of post-exilic Judaism unfulfilled. When and how was the promised glory and power of Israel to come to pass? This was the question which the apocalyptical scribe tried to answer, and the answer must accord with prophecy, and if possible be derived from it. The

harder the condition of the elect people the nearer must be the fulfilment of the divine promise.

A decline from prophecy at its height

Of course the fact that the unfulfilled predictions of Old Testament prophecy were the chief source and authority of the apocalyptical writers does not mean that they worked in the spirit of the older prophets. It indicates rather that the older spirit was lacking, for dependence on one another and the anxious pondering of ancient oracles did not characterize the early prophets. They spoke each in his own person with a confident message of his own, the source and authority of their message being none but God himself.

The transition began with the Exile and Ezekiel

There is, however, a history within Old Testament prophecy itself, and the way is there largely prepared for the later and lower type. The Exile is the event which marks the great division between the earlier and the later types, and Ezekiel, whose work spans that crisis, is the prophet in whom marked apocalyptical features first appear. As compared with earlier prophets his conception of God is more transcendental, his vision of God marked by more sensuous and fantastic imagery, the inspiration of the seer more external and supernaturalistic. His revelations come in visions interpreted by angels. His later message is less ethical and more simply religious, that is he does not preach repentance and reformation, but rests his hope wholly upon God's direct deed, for his own glory and in his own time. The hope does not wait for man's

righteousness as its condition but includes the miraculous renewal of man's incurably evil heart. The land of Palestine is also miraculously transformed, and the new land and city and temple have little to do with nature. A final, vain assault by the wild horsemen of Gog from the land of Magog will fulfil the predictions of Jeremiah and Zephaniah, and prove the security of the city in which God himself dwells. Man does not by any effort or merit of his bring in the Messianic age, and man cannot by any powers however demoniacal, bring disaster upon it. One needs only to compare Ezekiel's hope with that of the older prophets who preached a repentance which might come before judgment and avert it, or through the discipline of judgment, in order to realize how radical the difference is. The transition toward apocalypse is well under way, and we are not surprised to find apocalypses making much use of Ezekiel's vision of God, of the ecstatic form of his experience as a prophet, and of many features of his hope.

Apocalyptical marks of post-exilic prophecy

All the prophetic literature that succeeds Ezekiel is more or less apocalyptical in tendency, and there is much more of this post-exilic prophecy in the canon than was formerly supposed. The marks by which it can be distinguished from the earlier type are such as these: The predominance of the Messianic element, with judgment not upon Israel, but upon the foreign nations, its enemies; the absence of direct contact with current events, with this world and with things just at hand, and the substitution of a more

general and vague and theoretical background and outlook; a greater transcendence in the conception of God, and a growing interest in heaven as his abode; a tendency to separate the Messianic era from this, and conceive of it as almost another world, with heavenly, not earthly features; a gradually increasing concern for the individual man and his future lot, and not only for the nation.

Deutero-Isaiah

Isaiah 40–66 is the fullest and finest exposition of the national hope, and had great influence in lifting this hope up to its new supernatural level. It was a rich treasure house from which Judaism drew its images of the world-age to come. With this belongs Isaiah 34–35, where the execution of God's wrath against the nations and the perfect blessedness of the future are described in classic form.

Haggai and Zechariah

Haggai contributes the expectation of the coming of the wealth of the nations to glorify the temple. Zechariah (chs. 1–8) introduces important apocalyptical features. He not only contributes to the growing wealth of the language of hope (ch. 8), but in his dependence on older prophets, his use of the vision form of inspiration, his advanced angelology, and the place he gives to Satan, he marks a new stage in the transition from prophecy to the apocalypse. Most significant of all is his elaborate use, in a poetical way, of fantastic figures, borrowed in part from some foreign mythology.[1]

[1] Note especially the idea of the four winds and the seven planets as the messengers and the eyes of God, picturing his omniscience.

Malachi

Malachi is not so distinctly an apocalyptical prophecy, but adds the important idea of the returning Elijah, and some elements in the description of the Day of the Lord, which later writers could not fail to use.

Zechariah 9–14

Zechariah 9–14 furnished important materials for the apocalyptical writer; such as the descriptions of the last times of distress that must precede the Messianic era, of the final assault of the heathen upon Jerusalem and God's intervention and universal kingship.

Joel

Joel is strongly apocalyptical in character. Its theme is the coming Day of Jehovah, and the author both makes free use of older prophecies, and adds new features descriptive of that day. The promise of a general revival of prophetic inspiration in Israel (2 : 28–29), and the description of the signs in heaven before the day of judgment (2 : 30–31) are the elements in Joel's picture most used in early Christian apocalyptical creations.

Isaiah 24–27

One of the latest and most apocalyptical sections in the prophetic canon is Isaiah 24–27. Here we first meet two of the most important conceptions which the apocalypses develop. One is the idea that the day of Jehovah will bring destruction not only upon the kings of earth, but upon angels whose wickedness and power in some way answers to and explains that of the earthly kingdoms (24 : 21–23). The other is the doctrine of the resurrection of the righteous to take part in Israel's glory (26 : 19; cf. 14). Apart from this passage, it is only in the first apocalypse, Daniel,

that the resurrection is clearly affirmed. There we find also the conception of angel princes of the nations. The use of the chaos beast in Isaiah 27: 1 is also similar to that in Daniel 7, and in later apocalypses.

Oracles against foreign nations

There is another class of oracles which especially prepare the way for the apocalypse, the oracles against foreign nations. Some of these go back to early prophets, but probably the great majority of them come from the post-exilic period. Such are the oracles against Babylon in Isaiah 13–14, Jeremiah 50–51, and probably other oracles in Isaiah 13–23, and Jeremiah 46–51, as well as those in Ezekiel 25–32. These denunciations were freely turned by apocalyptical writers against the oppressive kingdoms of later times, the Greek and the Roman.

Dependence of the apocalypse on such prophecies

This very brief survey will serve to suggest to how great an extent Daniel and later apocalypses were the direct outcome of the later developments of prophecy. The apocalyptical writer found here rich materials ready to his hand. It was the eschatology of the prophets that interested him most; not the efforts at moral and social reform, but the forecasts of the future; not the conversion of his people, but their deliverance from trouble, and especially from subjection to the heathen. He searched for signs of the last day, for the mysteries of heaven and the angelic world that might explain the evils of the present and give a clew to the time and manner of the end of evil and the disclosure of God and heavenly blessings. There is hardly an im-

portant idea in the apocalypses for which beginnings and points of contact cannot be found in older prophecy. The vision also, the distinctive form of the apocalypse, is already the ruling form of prophecy in Ezekiel and Zechariah.

Yet the apocalypse is something new

Yet in spite of all these close points of connection, when one turns from the study of prophecy to Daniel and the apocalypses he feels that the change is great, greater perhaps than that involved in the transition from pre-exilic to post-exilic prophecy. Perhaps the feature that most calls forth this feeling is the pseudonymous character of these writings. The use of fantastic imagery too seems less free, more serious and literal. The dualistic supernaturalism is more marked. The coming age has nothing in common with the present, and the present age has nothing good in it, but is wholly in the power of evil. There is furthermore a universal scope in the view of Daniel, a sort of philosophy of history, which is new; and in succeeding apocalypses this semi-scientific interest extends to nature. These and other characteristics of the apocalyptical books, which set them off as a distinct class, in spite of their close relationship to post-exilic prophecy, we must now proceed to consider.

IV

PSEUDONYMOUS AUTHORSHIP

Anonymous prophecy

Post-exilic prophecy was largely anonymous. This means that it was only written, not first spoken, and that its truth and effect did not rest on the authority of its authors; perhaps further that the message was not new and did not have to meet with contradiction and unbelief. One has only to try to conceive of Amos or Isaiah as working anonymously to realize how great the difference was between early prophecy and late. The later could be great in its way. Isaiah 40–66 is great prophetic literature, but its author could not have been so great as Isaiah as a prophetic personality.

Rise of pseudonymous prophecy

But if the change to anonymous prophecy was great, the rise of pseudonymous prophecy marks a still greater change. It is hard for us to conceive of one who had a genuine faith and a serious message for his age adopting a literary form that was not genuine. Yet the writer of Daniel was certainly such a man and as certainly used such a device. He wrote in the age of Antiochus, in the name of a seer of the Exile, and gave in the form of prediction a review of post-exilic history with increasing detail up to his own time. Then on the basis of many predictions already fulfilled he would seem to claim the greater credence for his actual predictions of the fall of Antiochus and the speedy

coming of the kingdom of God. All Jewish apocalypses follow Daniel in this respect, usually assuming the names of still more ancient men of God, and relating history, in general behind the veil of symbol or allegory, as if it had been seen in vision ages before.

Difficulty of judging the character of a pseudonymous literature

It is by no means easy to decide just how this regular form of apocalyptical composition is to be judged. It would be quite unfair to condemn it simply by our modern standards. The Book of Daniel does not mark the beginning of pseudepigraphic literature among the Israelites, for Deuteronomy and Ecclesiastes contain this element. It is not hard for us to see how later formulations of law could be ascribed to the original law-giver, and later proverbial writing to the typical wise man. The pseudonymous character of Ecclesiastes and the Wisdom of Solomon is nothing more than a literary mode. But this can hardly be said of the apocalypses, for here the value of the contents seems to depend on the authority of the assumed seer, and the truth of the actual predictions on the confirmation by history of the predictions ascribed to him. The pseudonymity is carefully carried out. The books are meant to be received as really written by the assumed authors. The fact that though written so long ago they have remained unknown till now is explained by the command which the seer received to seal his book or hide it until the last times. It was written for the generation that was to see the end; hence it is only now found or made public because the end

is near.[1] Yet if we are to claim any greatness for this literature after the veil has been torn from its face we must find some excuse or explanation for its use of the veil. It is certain that a fair reading of Daniel, of parts of Enoch, of the Assumption of Moses, and the Apocalypse of Ezra, in the light of their circumstances and their aims, gives us the impression that we are dealing not with pretenders, but with writers of earnestness and sincerity. How then, can we explain the falsity of the form in which their message is given?

Was no deception intended?

Can we say that the device was generally understood and so involved no deception? This may have been true in the inner circles, but the genuineness of the books seems to have been generally accepted, as that of Enoch is by the writer of Jude; and the influence of the books seems in part to have depended on their assumed age.

Was deception necessary for safety?

Can we suppose that the form was adopted in self-defence, because of the hostility to foreign or native rulers which the books express? This may explain the figurative allusions to current events, but as to authorship the anonymous form would have served the end of safety equally well.

Did the closing of the canon occasion it?

A more important suggestion is that the canon was closed, at least the canon of law and prophecy, that prophetic inspiration was believed to have ceased with Malachi,

[1] See Dan. 12 : 4, 9; 8 : 26; Enoch 1 : 2; 93 : 10; 104 : 12f; 82 : 1; Ass. Mos. 1 : 16–18; 2 Esdr. 14 : 8, 44–47.

so that no one could gain a hearing for a prophetic message unless it were put in the mouth of a man of the earlier age. A somewhat related supposition is that the apocalypses came from laymen, without reputation or standing, who felt that they could gain attention only under cover of a great name. Such considerations would seem to explain rather than excuse the device.

Use of really ancient traditions

In another direction we can perhaps go further in the way of apology. We certainly feel that the writers of Daniel, and Enoch 92–104, and Second Esdras, not only wanted their readers to believe their revelations, but believed them themselves. How can we explain their own conviction of the truth of their predictions? Two explanations have been suggested. One, that actual visions entered into the writers' experience and furnished a part of their material. The other, that really ancient traditions supplied much of the material, and that these had been already associated with the names of Enoch, Noah, and the rest. We shall consider the question of the nature of the visions described in apocalypses in the next chapter. The second suggestion bears directly on the question before us. We should have an explanation of the pseudonymous form of apocalypses, which would be also in part an apology for it, if we supposed that apocalyptical traditions running actually far back, tended to connect themselves, in the course of their transmission, with the names of certain ancient seers—Enoch, who walked with the Elohim, Noah,

who was rescued from the first world judgment, Abraham, the friend of God, Moses, who saw God face to face. Then the final writer, fully aware that he was not the original author of his material, but only its scribe and interpreter, might believe that the real author was in a true sense the one in whose name the traditions passed current. It would be easier to conceive of such a state of mind if we supposed the writing to be done in a condition of mental excitement or exaltation, when one might regard his own free imaginations as in a spiritual sense true to the mind of the ancient seer and intended by him.

Pseudonymity as a literary device

How far such explanations may apply we can only tell by a detailed study of these books. Even if we can account for the beginning and for the highest levels of apocalyptical writing in such ways, it is evident that pseudonymity became a mere literary device in the hands of many. It cannot be denied that whatever its psychological explanation pseudepigraphic prophecy marks a still further and a very great decline from the original heights on which the great prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah and others stood, where the man's personality was the factor of greatest worth. The sense of direct inspiration and of an immediate message from God which these men had is almost wholly absent from the later representatives of the prophetic order whose work we are considering.

On the other hand there is something to be admired in that anonymous form of prophecy which intervened be-

Peculiarity of Hebrew writers seen in anonymous authorship

tween the first and last types and in a sense mediated between them. That one should write such literature as Isaiah 40–66 without an allusion to himself or a care to be remembered as its author; that not only law-givers and historians but writers on ethics, story-tellers, and even such supreme religious poets as the authors of the Psalms and of Job, should be content to be unknown, reveals a degree of absorption in the subject-matter, a measure of unconsciousness, a loss of self in the community and its ideals, in God and his truth, which we can hardly imagine. The secret of the unique greatness, especially the genuineness and reality, of Israelitish literature lies in part in this suppression of the individual. If one compares Hebrew with Greek literature he will realize this peculiarity of the Hebrew and its greatness. The Greeks had like ourselves a pride of authorship which made them jealous of their literary rights and ambitious for fame. In such an atmosphere plagiarism is a natural temptation and of course a recognized moral fault. But Hebrew historians and poets incorporated the work of predecessors freely because no one made any claim for himself. All belonged to the nation. Each might use what he would and add what he could,

Its bearing on the question of pseudonymous writing

without a thought of deception or unfairness. Now this community of authorship which appears in the anonymous character of most of the Old Testament literature, and results in that free editing and re-editing of older documents which literary criticism discovers, helps us to under-

stand the pseudonymous form of the apocalypses. It remains true that the greater prophets spoke in their own persons. Their self-assertion was, however, only a higher form of the conquest of self, because it was an assertion of God and of the ideal over against popular ideas and wishes, involving personal danger and loss. Their isolation and the strangeness of their message forced them into prominence. Their voice was not that of the nation; it was the voice of God against the nation. Their success rested on the originality of their inspiration and ultimately on the force of their personalities. But post-exilic prophecy did not in the same way oppose common beliefs. It sought rather to add assurance to the hopes by which the Jewish religion lived. A step further was taken by the scribes who compiled the prophetic canon. They seem to have regarded it as part of their task to assign anonymous oracles to the various known prophets.[1] Perhaps this reveals a growing feeling that prophecy rests for its authentication upon the known character of its author as a man of God. These scribes seem to have done some more positive editing also. The adaptation of the ancient prophecies to the religious needs of their own time may have led them not only to rearrangements, but also to comments; so that to a certain degree a pseudonymous element, which is closely related to that community of authorship which we

[1] For example, they inserted chs. 13–14, 24–27, 40–66 in the Book of Isaiah, chs. 9–14 in Zechariah, etc.

have described, is to be found in the prophetic canon. So when a critical occasion called forth a new prophet, whose task was not to give a new message but to give the old faith and hope new expression and to interpret new events in the light of old predictions, it would be not at all unnatural, and may have seemed necessary and not really untrue, to assume an ancient name. In a sense the new book was really old, and in no sense did the deception serve the writer's selfish ends. He remained unknown and it was wholly the common cause to which he was devoted.

V

THE APOCALYPTICAL VISION

Place of the vision in older prophecy

After the pseudonymous form, that which impresses us as most characteristic of apocalypses is that they consist wholly of visions, and that elaborate and fantastic imagery largely makes up the material of the visions. We find visions indeed in the books of the older prophets, but their prevailing mode was a direct, "thus saith Jehovah." The visions of Amos (chs. 7–9) are hardly more than vivid figures. Only the last one (9 : 1) reveals emotional excitement, and even there we need not suppose an actual condition of trance. Hosea gives no hint of such experiences. Isaiah on the other hand had a great vision of God (ch. 6), and elsewhere reveals the fact that his inspirations some-

times came upon him as it were from without.[1] Yet Isaiah's message is usually given in the direct form, and appeals to reason and conscience rather than to imagination and the love of mystery. Jeremiah was less a man of vision than Isaiah, though he had intense emotional experiences. In prayer rather than vision his highest insights were gained.

Its primary importance in Ezekiel

It is not until we come to Ezekiel that we find the vision assuming primary importance. The spirit works upon him as an external force, even carrying him from place to place. Trance experiences are frequently described. The vision of God at the beginning and afterward, and the words of angels in connection with visions are the foundation and substance of his message. It is especially significant that his description of the future in chapters 40–48, though largely legal in contents, is in form a vision seen in an ecstatic state and interpreted by an angel. This section is, as Wellhausen remarks, essentially an apocalypse.

In Zechariah

In Isaiah 40–66 prophecy takes a poetical form, more related to the Psalms than to the apocalypses. Zechariah, on the other hand, carries still further the tendency of Ezekiel to make vision the proper form of prophecy, and strange imagery the proper contents of the vision.

In the apocalypses, vision becomes the one mode of revelation, and the supernatural character and objective reality of the vision are insisted upon as if on this the truth

[1] 8 : 11 ff.; 22 : 14; cf. 28 : 9–13.

In apocalypses vision is the sole method of revelation

of the message depended. The writer's claim is that he has actually seen what is hidden from the eyes of common mortals. He has been rapt to heaven and describes what he saw and heard there. On the reality of his translation depends the credibility of his account of unseen things. Perhaps it is correct to say that the visions of older prophets were chiefly emotional experiences, while in the apocalypses their significance lies in the intellectual sphere. They become the means, the only means, by which man can obtain a knowledge of the secrets of heaven and of the future. The symbolic language in which alone visions can be described ceases to have the value of poetry, and is taken in a more literal sense. The more unearthly and mysterious the symbolic creations are, the better adapted to describe divine things.

Material of apocalyptical visions, allegory and tradition

How can we test the reality and determine the value of these visions? First of all by studying the nature of the material which the visions contain. Modern scholars have found two elements in the apocalyptical imagery, allegory and tradition. It is certain that in many cases the apocalyptical writer has freely constructed allegorical figures to represent historical persons and events, and to cast a veil of mystery about familiar facts. The ram and goat in Daniel 8 are transparent figures picturing the conquest of Persia by Greece, and the interpretation which follows is hardly needed. Enoch 85–90 is a poor allegory of the history of Israel. No real vision entered into its production but only

a clumsy literary fancy. Of the same sort is the symbol of Rome in Second Esdras 11–12.

Often, however, tradition furnished the writer with his figures, and he only reshaped or interpreted them to fit his own time. So the beasts of Daniel 7 go back to the Babylonian chaos dragon, used also in Revelation 12, 13, 17. In each case the traditional figure is adapted to a present situation. Did the apocalyptical writer really believe that the ancient figure contained the mystery he would solve, and revealed the solution to one who studied it with reverence and received divine enlightenment, or did he use it in a literary spirit, because of its poetic value, or because of his own poverty of invention? Did he really try to interpret the history of his times by these traditional figures, or did he only use the ancient imagery for the description of current history? And what right had he in either case to say that his procedure was a vision?

Actuality of the vision

Another way of approaching the question is to inquire after the real nature of visions in religious history in general, and then ask whether the visions of our apocalypses have the marks of reality. That vision may be a real experience psychologists do not now doubt. But there are two important reservations in this recognition of the actuality of visionary experiences. One is that not all real visions are of equal value, and the other that not all reported visions are real.

As to the first point, the mere experience of a seeing of

Actual visions differ in value

that which is not present to the physical eye, the capacity or tendency to visualize one's thoughts, has in itself no bearing on the truth and value of one's thoughts. Nor can we ascribe value to susceptibility to emotional excitement, which may carry one to the point of a total loss of self-control or even of self-consciousness. The value of such ecstatic states depends on the nature of the feelings that are given such unrestrained possession. If they are noble feelings such as devotion to one's country, enthusiasm for a righteous cause or for a great man, their momentary intensification may be only good. The test of the value of such experiences is not their reality, but their source and their issue in character and in action. Such visionary or ecstatic experiences cannot be said to bring new knowledge or involve anything that can be called revelation.

The higher type of vision

There is a higher type of vision which may be described as insight or illumination gained in a state of intense thought, in which the consciousness of self may be wholly lost, and truth itself, God himself, seems to touch the soul and take possession of it. This intuition or spiritual insight, which comes after long mental struggle, and yet comes as if it were the end of struggle, not its victorious consummation, as a gift of immediate perception taking the place of reasoning, is the highest type of vision, that of the prophet, that of the man of genius. Here reason must still test the vision and judge it by its newness and by the value and

power of the truth it gains. When it endures such tests we have the best right to ascribe this experience to the divine spirit and call it revelation. Into these supreme experiences, actual vision, that is the visualizing of thoughts, may not enter at all. Yet sense images must enter into their expression, because the deeper experiences of the soul, its most intimate communings with the eternal, are not to be uttered in literal speech. Vision then may mean hallucination, the subjective seeing of things not actually present, or it may mean an emotional and spiritual experience on the highest plane. Many intermediate and mixed types exist. Isaiah's vision of God (ch. 6) may have been experienced as an actual sight of God's cloudy garment filling the temple, and of the fiery beings that surrounded him, but its inner content was a revelation of the holiness of God as a power that makes holy him who beholds it in humility, and that summons to its service him who wills to subject himself to its rule. But how can the apocalyptical visions endure measurement by the standard of Isaiah's?

Recorded visions are not all real

Before answering the question we must consider the other reservation which the modern student makes in his recognition of vision or ecstasy as an actual experience. Not only are not all real visions of equal value, but not all recorded visions are real. When the vision was regarded as the only proper contents of prophetic literature, it was inevitable that it should be adopted by many as a mere literary form. This is all the easier because true visions

cannot be described without much freedom of elaboration. In proportion to the intensity and elevation of the experience, they are incapable of literal description. It is very hard to determine even in the case of Ezekiel how far actual trance or visionary experiences are to be assumed. The fact that the material of a vision is derived from the Old Testament or from tradition does not in itself prove that the vision is a mere literary artifice, for in true vision, when self-consciousness is lost, the mind operates with materials already in its possession, the inner eye sees in some transfigured form and with a mysterious significance things actually before the physical eye, or figures stored up in memory. Old Testament and other ancient prophetic images would be the very ones most likely to come in the ecstatic state before the mind of those who had long pondered their meaning.

If indeed visions were real in a more objective sense, so that the seers literally saw the heavenly abode of God, the angels, God himself, and literally heard divine voices announcing the future, we should expect their accounts to differ in form but to agree in substance, like the reports of independent travellers in some distant land. This supposition is however excluded both by the character of the visions and by the nature of the case, since God is spirit, and the higher realm of reality is not only unseen by man but is in its nature invisible.

The visions described in the apocalypses are beyond

doubt in the majority of cases not real visions at all, but literary fictions. Yet in some cases it is quite possible that actual trance experiences are described. We are beginning to understand the power of suggestion and expectation over the human mind. It would not be strange if members of a circle of writers who valued ecstatic states above everything else, and regarded them as the only proper form of prophetic inspiration, should strive by all known means, by fasting and meditation and solitude, to gain such experiences, and should sometimes succeed. So we may agree with Gunkel that the first three or four visions in Second Esdras [1] may have been truly visionary experiences. The same impression of reality is made in the Book of Daniel.[2]

Real and unreal visions in the apocalypses

In view of the true nature of such mental conditions, however, the most important thing is to recognize the secondary significance of the question as to their reality. The difference between true vision and the merely literary use of the vision form is not the difference between revelation and deception. The true vision might be valueless, a mere hallucination, or an irrational and unmoral excitement, and on the other hand a serious message, deeply felt and urgently enforced, might—such is the difference between that age and our own—choose the apocalyptical form for its expression. Our estimate of the value of an apocalyptical

Significance of the question as to reality or unreality

[1] See 2 Esd. 3 : 1–3 ; 5 : 14–15, 20–22 ; 6 : 35–37 ; 9 : 23–28.
[2] 7 : 28 ; 8 : 15–19, 27 ; 10 : 2–11, 15–19.

True tests of the value of an apocalypse

vision must therefore turn not on the question whether it describes an actual experience, but on the question whether it expresses a genuine religious faith, and conveys an important and worthy religious truth. Furthermore the worth of the message is to be measured not by the truth of the predictions it contains, as tested by events, nor by the objective accuracy of its descriptions of the unseen world, as tested by our geology and astronomy, but by the underlying faith it expresses and the duty it enforces. And again the faith and the duty are to be measured by the needs and dangers of their age, not of ours. We are most concerned, in other words, not with the supernaturalism of the form, but with the religious and ethical contents of the apocalypse, and the value of its message for its time; although if we regard the spirit, not the letter, we shall find that no writing that has a true and important message for its own time is without a message for ours as well. We must vividly realize the situation of the Jews in Exile if we would appreciate Ezekiel. The high worth of Daniel can be felt only as we transport ourselves sympathetically into the next most critical moment in the history of the Jews, that of the assault of the Greek king upon their faith. Enoch and the Assumption of Moses can be understood only in the light of the peril which true religion met in the worldly success and ambition of the priestly class. The Book of Revelation can be appreciated only in view of the imminent danger of a decline of Christian morals and faith

into heathenism which befell the church in Asia Minor, and had its source and strength in Rome and in the enforcement of emperor worship. The Apocalypses of Ezra and Baruch must be set against the background of the perplexities and despair that threatened Jewish faith after the destruction of Jerusalem. It is from this historical point of view that we are to approach the apocalypses, and as historians we can leave the question of the degree of actuality in the visions largely to the psychologist.

We must accept the undoubted fact that a shallow and insincere person could have genuine visions, and that an earnest and honest writer could in that age cast his message into the form of vision. We may go further and say that the one divine Spirit may operate in the human spirit sometimes as if it were a force from without, sometimes through the normal processes of the mind; that true revelations may come in the form of sensible symbols that appear to be literally seen, or of voices that are to the man's consciousness actually heard, or of insights that flash upon the soul in a state of such exaltation and absorption and apparent passivity that he cannot afterwards tell whether he was in the body or out of the body; and that on the other hand a man of different temperament, or even the same man under different conditions, may receive revelations in inseparable connection with his most conscious and strenuous moral and intellectual efforts.

VI

THE LITERARY COMPOSITION OF APOCALYPSES

Use of older material

There are two aspects of the composition of apocalyptical books which the reader should understand and bear in mind. In the first place these writers often incorporated ancient oracles with but little change; and in the second place their books often underwent much revision after their first publication.

Old Testament prophecy and apocalyptical traditions were the storehouse from which the apocalypses drew freely and largely. It was more to their purpose to show that ancient figures contained forecasts of present events, than to invent new figures. To interpret the present crisis in the light of former predictions was one of their chief tasks. They were more concerned to prove that the Day of Jehovah was near at hand, than to promulgate new ideas about its nature.

Importance of distinguishing old and new elements

It is for several reasons important that the interpreter recognize the old materials. Often the writer interpreted only a part of the old oracle, yet retained it all either because of its sacredness or because it was familiar and poetically impressive. The writer of Daniel, for example, does not interpret the four winds and the sea out of which the beasts come, in chapter 7. It is probably a mistake to try to assign them a meaning in his mind. It is enough to say

that they belonged to the tradition, and to look to the tradition for their meaning. It suffices to say that the sea is the abode of the dragon of chaos in the original myth from which the beasts are developed. So in many cases the recognition of the ancient source of a figurative creation gives us the clew we need to its meaning, which we might search for in vain in the persons and events of the writer's time. Many details in Revelation had, as we shall see, no definite meaning to the writer, but belonged to a picture for which as a whole he had an application.

The revision and recombination of apocalypses

But the other aspect of the composition of apocalypses must also be regarded. The books often had a further history after they were written. Revision was common and unreserved in Hebrew literature in general. Anonymous authorship and the prevailing practical religious purpose in writing made new adaptations to new needs natural. The apocalypses would especially need such adjustments to new conditions. They were written for a definite situation, often for a special crisis, and always announced the promised end as near at hand. Time invariably proved their forecast partly or wholly mistaken. The situation passed and the end was not yet. But the book was not cast aside. That is not the way in which religious history proceeds. The book was retained for its main message of faith and courage, and for the value it had gained by use. Slight changes would adapt it to new times and new beliefs. The plainest examples of such revisions are found

in the Christian phrases occasionally added to Jewish apocalypses. More radical changes would result from uniting in one book oracles originally independent. The Book of Enoch is demonstrably a collection of Enoch books of different age and authorship. It contains also fragments of a Noah-literature which appear as simple interpolations, without relation to their context.

The necessity of literary analysis

In such cases it is evident that literary analysis is essential if the student is to assign the visions to their proper place and give them the right interpretation. We cannot assume the unity of an apocalypse, but must seek to remove inconsistencies and obscurities in part by critical analysis.

Its value in comparison with the history of tradition

Perhaps the most important difference now dividing students of this literature concerns the relative importance of the two methods of interpretation just suggested. According to one view it is to be assumed that an apocalypse is a unity unless strong reasons to the contrary appear, and unevenness in the construction and apparent variations in the point of view of the writer are to be explained as due to his large use of older materials, written or oral, which he did not fully harmonize. According to the other view the presumption is that the book has gone through a complicated history since leaving its chief author's hands, and all breaks and inconsistencies of view are to be used as evidences of its composite character. In one case the interpreter's task is to trace the history of apocalyptical traditions, the meaning given to these traditions by the au-

thor of the given writing, and the plan and purpose of his book. In the other case his first effort must be to analyze the book into its component parts and so retrace the history of its literary growth. As it stands it has no plan and purpose because it has no unity, no proper author, no one occasion. Assuming in general the unity of the book we have as a chief problem to discover the writer's sources. Assuming its composite character we have to discover and loosen its joints and then study each part as an independent whole. These two methods have been called the *Tradition-historical*, and the *Literary-critical* methods. It can be safely said that the former has so far succeeded as to prove that the latter has been much overworked. The two methods need to be united, for each has its rights. Both processes entered into the formation of this literature. It is especially important to urge the former because the principal editor of apocalypses in English, Professor R. H. Charles, is a very confident and somewhat extreme follower of the latter, the method of literary analysis. As his editions of the Enoch books, the Assumption of Moses, the Ascension of Isaiah, the Apocalypse of Baruch as well as the Book of Jubilees must serve most of us as sources, it is necessary—though it may seem ungrateful to one to whom we owe so much—to say that the analysis of Charles is in general the least valuable part of his books, and should not be taken for granted by the reader unless it is supported by the majority of critics. There are apocalypses, such

as those of Baruch and of Ezra (2 Esd. 3–14), which are elaborately analyzed by Charles, of which the substantial unity in the sense above defined—allowing, that is, for a considerable use of various traditional materials by the writers—is the more current and the more probable view. The same is true of Daniel and perhaps of Revelation. Complicated analyses of these books, especially of Revelation, have been made, though little agreement has been reached, and it remains probable that each of these books, in approximately its present form, had a definite occasion and author, though each makes large use of traditions. Breaks in the connection, differences in historical situation and in religious conceptions, may often be reasonably accounted for without resort to critical dissection by appeal to the variety of the writer's source materials, and also to a want of logical consistency, natural in an imaginative literature where the line between fact and poetry is nowhere drawn, natural also to the thought of unscholastic lay minds. It is to be remembered also that tradition was a positive principle of the apocalyptical writers. Neither heaven nor the purposes of God were subject to change. What one seer had beheld another could only reaffirm. His task was to find the fulfilment of past oracles in present events and in those soon to follow.

VII

THEIR MESSAGES FOR THEIR OWN TIMES

The practical message of courage and hope

The messages of apocalypses for their time may be roughly divided into the practical and the theoretical. The practical message of the apocalypse has already been explained in what has been said of its historical place and significance, and its relation to prophecy. The original and proper occasion of an apocalypse is a time of danger to faith, of active persecution or serious apostasy, a time when the oppressions or the allurements of heathenism are making themselves felt. The greatest apocalypses, Daniel and Revelation, were written when the world empire was pressing hard upon the religious community; and all books of this class are animated by a spirit of protest against the perverse conditions of the times, the weakness and humiliation of the righteous people and the power and glory of the wicked. For the suffering righteous, without power or reputation, without office or learning, especially in times of oppression and temptation, the practical message needed is one of encouragement and hope, of trust in the reality of the rule of God, hidden though it is, of belief that his rule will soon be manifest and his people vindicated. In view of this expectation of the coming of God, the virtue to be urged is persistent fidelity to religious faiths and duties in spite of the persuasions or violence of evil and

in the face of death itself. In the apocalypses this message was given in the way best fitted to stir the heart and impel the will of the men of the time.

The theoretical message

But the apocalypses base their practical message on certain theories of the world and of history which seek to explain the present dominance of evil and to demonstrate the nearness of its overthrow. These speculations are carried far enough to constitute a sort of philosophy of history and even the beginnings of a natural science. In this theoretical region the apocalypses exhibit considerable diversity, yet the ruling aim is always the same, to explain the present power of evil, and to prove the nearness of its end.

Theory of the origin and end of evil

The problem of evil, that is, the sufferings of the righteous nation or sect, of Israel or the true Israel, and the prosperity of the wicked is the theme of much of the post-exilic literature of Judaism. Psalms, wisdom books, histories, stories, all struggle with it. The apocalypses are a product of the extreme pressure of this problem in critical times, and have their own solution of it. Their solution is not that of Proverbs, or Job, or Ecclesiastes, or the Psalms. It is this: The rule of evil is due to transgressions and conflicts in the angel world, and it will cease, according to an all-including and determined plan of God, with his coming in the near future. The explanation of existing conditions is found in the world of spirits, and their reversal and correction is looked for in the immediate future.

The announcement of the future is a more fixed and essential element in the apocalypse than the explanation of the present, and may be considered first.

The coming Day of Jehovah, and the end of evil

The promised Day of Jehovah, the day of his coming to fulfil his threats and promises, is near. He will come when evil is at the height of its arrogant and cruel power. He will take the world-empire from those who have misused it, and give it to his people Israel, whose rule is to be the realization of God's rule on earth.

A philosophy of history

What strikes us first in this hope, as Daniel sets it forth, is its wide scope in comparison with the predictions of the earlier prophets. A scheme of the succession of nations to world rulership is outlined which has in a sense the character of a philosophy of history. This divinely ordained succession is itself a sort of theodicy. Evil belongs in the plan of God, but its time is fixed and its due reward will follow.

Contrast between this age and the age to come

The description of Israel's coming glory is largely taken from earlier prophetic pictures, but we mark in Daniel and its successors a tendency to take these pictures not too literally, but to lift the hoped-for age above the conditions of the present world. The consummation takes on a supernatural character. This transcendence of the hope is a marked characteristic of the apocalyptical literature. It resulted in a transformation of the older earthly Messianic hope. The contrast between the present and the coming age became a contrast of two worlds. In the last Jewish apoca-

lypses, those of Ezra and Baruch, this development reaches its height, and the whole view is dominated by the dualism of "this world" and the "world to come." But the Jewish apocalyptical movement was tending in this direction from its beginning, though these phrases were not current. A transcendental, supernatural element distinguishes its hope from the older Messianic conceptions. To be sure the foundation is laid for the contrast of the two worlds earlier than Daniel, in Isaiah 11, Zechariah 12–14, Joel, Malachi 4, Isaiah 24–27. It is true also that the simpler national hope is still found in the apocalypses, as in Enoch 5, 10, 25, 90. Yet on the whole the unearthly view of the consummation is characteristic of the apocalypses. In general they look forward not to a simple restoration of David's kingdom, or to a recovery of the ideal conditions of the patriarchal age or even of the earthly paradise, but to a new earth fashioned after heavenly models and ruled by heavenly powers, a real descent of heaven to earth, and then gradually an ascent of the righteous to heaven and their transformation into angelic natures.

The reverse side of the hope for a new world was despair and hatred of this present world. It is as wholly evil as the other is to be good. Not only are the righteous in adversity, but nothing else is possible while the present order continues. The world is now subject to evil powers by the divine allowance or decree. This dualism involved

a partly pessimistic and ascetic tone, which is not native to the Hebrew mind or characteristic of the Old Testament.

We note further a tendency to put the individual in the place of the nation as the centre of interest now and hereafter. This tendency did not develop so rapidly as one would expect, but it is unmistakably present. It is a very significant fact that the great doctrine of resurrection originates, in Judaism, in the apocalyptical literature; for Isaiah 24–27 must be regarded as belonging both in date and nature essentially in this class. Here the belief is expressed not only that death will cease to exist in the Messianic age (25 : 8), but that though death is final for the wicked, the righteous dead will rise to have part in the coming glory of Israel (26 : 14, 19).

Increasing importance of the individual, and growth of the idea of resurrection

Daniel, who first states the belief in dogmatic form, expects a resurrection of many, righteous and wicked as well, each to receive the reward he deserves (Dan. 12 : 2, 3, 13). We should expect that the hope of individual blessedness after death, when it had once arisen, would displace the idea of a national glory. But in Israel the national element was too deep-rooted for this. It is astonishing how slowly the individual hope made its way into the Israelitish religion. It long remained in the background and was subordinate to the national idea, as its very form, that of a bodily resurrection, indicates. The blessed future was not the life of the spirit in heaven, but the recovery of the present life on earth in the Messianic age.

Spiritualization of the conception of resurrection

But we have seen already that the national hope in the apocalypses took on a more and more unearthly character. The hoped-for kingdom became a new world of heavenly powers and properties. The conception of resurrection must keep pace with this development. The new body must be one capable of the immortal, angel-like life of men in the heaven-like world to come. In this direction a purely spiritual immortality might finally displace resurrection altogether, and sometimes we seem to be on the verge of this change.[1] To this end Greek notions of the natural immortality of the soul could have contributed, as Persian conceptions may have helped in the first formation of the Jewish doctrine of resurrection.

Rise of the millenarian idea

In the end, however, it was not found possible to lift the old national hope up to the level of the highest individual hope. The nation required this earth for the realization of the prophetic pictures of its destiny, but the individual could dwell not only on an earth transfigured after heavenly patterns, but just as well in heaven itself. After various efforts to give a fully heavenly character to the national earthly hope, of which perhaps Enoch 37–70 is the highest, the apocalyptical writers tend to fall back on a simpler adjustment of the old hope and the new, in which each has its full rights. They are made to succeed each other in time instead of blending with each other in character. Thus arose the chiliastic or millenarian eschatology,

[1] See, for example, Enoch 93–104, and Jubil. 23 : 31.

according to which the promises of Israel's national greatness would be literally fulfilled, and then, after a certain period, this world would come to an end and the heavenly world would follow, introduced by a general resurrection and judgment. At this stage heaven and hell and the fortunes of souls therein took the place of the national hope as the chief and final theme of eschatology.[1]

Slight interest in the lot of souls after death

But it is a striking fact that throughout the whole course of the apocalyptical literature during almost three centuries, from Daniel to Second Esdras, the problem of the nation, that is of the *true* Israel, the righteous community, remained foremost. Only in one isolated chapter in Enoch (22) do we find speculations about the varying lots of souls after death. In Second Esdras there is a far more elaborate treatment of this theme in the section long lost, but finally recovered in the Latin version (7 : 36–126), but even here the fate of Zion and Israel is first in the writer's mind. It is only in the Christian Apocalypse of Peter that the ruling theme becomes that which it remained in the eschatological speculations of later ages, the varying fortunes of souls after death. The Apocalypse of Peter is the oldest Jewish-Christian writing that treats the theme of Dante's apocalypse, the Divine Comedy.

Another important question concerns the place of the Messiah in the apocalypses. In Daniel no Messiah ap-

[1] This scheme is found first in Enoch 93 : 1–10; 91 : 12–17, then in Rev. 20, and 2 Esd. 7 : 28.

The place of the Messiah in apocalypses

pears. There seem to be two reasons for his disappearance. One is found in the supernatural character of the hope. God himself and no human hand is to overthrow Antiochus and right the wrongs of those who fear God. The other reason is that the human agent that is to be God's representative in the future age is Israel. The one like a man who receives the Kingdom from God and reigns forever is an angel, not a man; and he is the representative of the people of the saints of the Most High. This only carries on a tendency seen already in the Psalms, where the anointed of God, his son, is usually the nation, not an individual king.

In general the Messiah occupies a very secondary position in the apocalypses. In Enoch 90 he appears only after the kingdom has been established by God, as the head of the community. There is no Messiah in Enoch 1–36, 91–104, or in the Assumption of Moses. In only one apocalyptical writing does he occupy the central place, namely, in Enoch 37–70. Here in the effort to exalt the national hope and give it a transcendent character, the figure of the Messiah is carried up and given a heavenly nature and place. Though still a man he is a companion of God and the angels in heaven from the beginning, and he is to be himself the judge, sitting on God's throne in the coming age. This exalted conception of a pre-existent and semi-divine Messiah is very significant, but its influence in Judaism seems to have been slight. What its influence

may have been upon the early Christology of the Christian church it is exceedingly difficult to determine.

The unseen world and the origin of evil

We turn now from the messages of the apocalypses regarding the future to their messages about the unseen world. Ezekiel says, "The heavens were opened, and I saw visions of God" (1 : 1). This suggests the other mysteries, besides those of the future, which the seer sought to disclose. Heaven contains God who governs and determines all, and the angels who know and do his will, and hence the ultimate solution of the problems of human life and destiny, of present evil and of coming good. The apocalypses are ruled by the idea that the visible world is to be understood by the invisible.

Old Testament visions of heaven and of God

The Old Testament contains few visions of heaven, and they do not form an essential element in a national religion. The nation's fortunes constitute the region where Jehovah's self-manifestations are to be seen. In regard to his heavenly abode little curiosity seems to have been felt. We have indeed such visions as Jacob's at Bethel, the vision of Moses and the elders in Exodus 24 : 10, and that of Micaiah in First Kings 22 : 19. These, together with the visions of Ezekiel 1 and Isaiah 6, are enough to suggest that more fancies about the abode of God and his angelic servants were current among the people than the canonical books record.

Jewish thought tended to separate God more and more from the world, to set him at an inaccessible height and

Tendencies of the later Jewish thought of God

surround him with an impassable barrier of fiery glory. This involved the danger of conceiving of God's holiness in physical terms. Human terms were avoided through reverence, but in fact human terms, those of personality and character, are the highest we possess, and when men try to surmount these they fall below them. This was the danger into which the apocalypses fell. Daniel 7 : 9–10 contains an exalted picture of God, but it appeals to the imagination rather than to conscience, and in it the qualities that made the God of prophets and psalmists Israel's Father and Saviour are lost. Enoch 14 seeks to surpass this vision in the same direction. Dazzling light and consuming fire surround God and fill the seer with terror. The vision of God in Revelation 4 belongs in the same category. The tendency to make God remote is not peculiar to the apocalypses. It belonged to late Judaism in general. But it is striking that even the successors of the prophets did not know how to overcome it and recover a more ethical conception, but that in them also it produced its inevitable fruit, an extreme supernaturalism and a certain religious coldness and formalism.

Resulting development of angelology

One-sided stress on the transcendence of God above and apart from the world always involves the substitution for his presence in the world of some sort of intermediary agency. Angels are the earliest and most persistent form which this conception takes. Though the conception goes far back in Israel, the number and offices of angels

were naturally increased as God was more and more shut off by his holy aloofness from contact with the world. No doubt the Jews borrowed their later, more elaborate, angelology in part from foreign religions, yet the Old Testament contains so many elements of the later doctrine that we seem to need little help from outside in order to account for the development. The Jews knew how to borrow what they liked and use it as they liked. They knew how to appropriate foreign mythological figures without the mythology, and even dualistic conceptions without the dualism, and could build a Babylonian story of creation into their system, and the Persian idea of a ruling evil spirit, without giving up their monotheism.

Yet it must be said that an elaborate angelology, though it may be developed to guard an exalted monotheism, tends actually to lessen the sense of the influence of God in the world, and to substitute other divine beings for the one God as objects of trust and worship, and as helpers in need.

Early stages in Jewish angelology

In the history of Israel's religion we find at the beginning a period when there were multitudes of divine beings, "sons of God." Then followed the period of the highest development of Israel's peculiar religion, that of the prophets and the law, when the angel world was practically ignored and Jehovah stood alone, the only divine being with whom Israel had to do, one who stood in most intimate and living relation to his people. Then came a period

represented by the apocalypses, in which angels reappear and multiply, but in strict subordination to the one who is Lord of lords and King of kings. In other words, angelology is repressed during the time of the establishment of monotheism, and then revived in the interests of monotheism, to aid in a still further exaltation of the one God above the earth and man.

Varying ranks and functions of angels

The innumerable hosts of angels who surrounded God's throne formed the court of the heavenly King, and helped represent his majesty to the imagination. It was natural that their functions should be differentiated. Perhaps partly under foreign influence the conception arose of archangels, nearest the throne, usually seven, but sometimes four in number. They probably rest ultimately on the seven moving objects in the heavens, and on the four points of compass or winds. The multitude of stars not only represented the heavenly hosts, but in the popular view seem to have been actually living, angelic beings. This idea goes back to the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian star worship, and is even adopted by the philosopher, Philo, in the time of Christ. More native to Israel's religion was the conception that the elements of storm, clouds, wind and lightning, were living powers. The cherubim and seraphim appear to stand in this connection. Other more familiar phenomena of nature were conceived of as animated by superhuman beings. Wherever mysterious forces were seen, spirits were at work. In

the apocalypses appear the first names of angels, in Daniel, Michael and Gabriel, in Enoch many more. Michael is the guardian or representative angel of Israel. In the Old Testament we already meet the idea that every nation has such an angelic counterpart (Deut. 4 : 19–20; 17 : 3; 32 : 8–9 LXX); and this conception—a monotheistic modification of the older idea that each nation had its own god—is another important source of the apocalyptical angelology. It was natural to use this conception to explain the evil character of heathen nations and their deeds of violence and injustice against Israel,[1] and to look forward to the punishment of these angel princes as well as that of earthly kings.

Representative angels of the nations

But the problem of evil needed to be pushed still further back. In Genesis 6 : 1–4 the apocalyptical writers found a clew to the beginnings of transgression in the angel world, and an explanation of human sin and suffering. We shall see the important use made of this in Enoch. The sin of these angels is more or less literally represented by the wandering of certain stars from their courses, the meteors. Their imprisonment beneath the earth is attested by earthquakes, volcanoes and sulphurous springs.

Sinning angels

The tendency of all efforts to solve the problem of evil by recourse to the angelic world is to carry all back to one supreme spirit of evil. From the Old Testament the name Satan was taken, that one of the angel host whose

Idea of a supreme spirit of evil

[1] So in Enoch 85–90.

office it was to accuse men before God, to prove their professions false, and even to tempt them to sin. The conception of angels of the nations, in connection with the power of the one ruling nation, first Greece, then Rome, would easily lead to the idea of a supreme evil spirit as the ruler of this world. It is probable that foreign influences, that of the Babylonian chaos-beast, and that of the Persian god of darkness, entered into the formation of the final idea that the present world, by divine allowance and for an appointed time, was in the power of the devil.

It will be seen that the angelology of the apocalypses has an important place in a long and involved history of human thought and fancy. Its importance for us is enhanced by the fact that New Testament angelology and demonology have their closest analogy and in part their explanation in these books.

The future abodes of righteous and wicked

One other subject should be briefly touched upon. Besides heaven, the abode of God and the angels, our seers visited other hidden places, especially the future abodes of the righteous and wicked. Here also we find a variety and growth of ideas, and a blending of conceptions originally distinct. Sheol was at first the common abode of all the dead. The renewed holy land was the place of the consummation. To this some of the righteous were to be restored from Sheol, according to the oldest apocalypse. The transformed land and the new Jerusalem and temple were more and more supernaturalized. They

were not only God's work but were already present, not only in his thought, but in his heaven, waiting to be revealed. Still later when the heavenly consummation was put after the earthly, the final abode of the righteous was heaven itself. A transitional conception between the earthly and the heavenly place of final blessedness was that of Paradise. Man would recover the happy garden he lost by sin. This was thought of as in a remote part of the earth, and as already the abode of the few who had escaped death, such as Enoch, Elijah and Moses. Afterward it was transferred to heaven, or one of the heavens. Meanwhile Sheol was gradually transformed from the abode of all the dead to the place of the wicked only. Greek influence seems to have modified the idea of Sheol as we find it in Enoch 22. Here it is a place of provisional rewards and punishments. Yet the wicked must rise from Sheol in order to be adequately punished, and the place of their punishment was conceived of in a realistic way as the Valley of Hinnom, near Jerusalem. Finally this idea was spiritualized, and Gehenna became the place of the punishment of the souls of the wicked, Sheol having finally the same meaning. Our word, hell, is from the Greek equivalent of Sheol, Hades; but it has the later, not the original meaning of that word.

VIII

THEIR MESSAGES FOR OUR TIME

Value of the apocalypse to us is limited

The more theoretical or theological messages of the apocalypses it is evidently impossible for us to accept in any literal way as a message for our day. That which they claimed to do, namely, to unveil the heavenly world and the future age, they really did not do. We cannot accept their descriptions of heaven, of God's throne, or of the angels, their names and functions, as a revelation of hidden realities. They are at most figurative and imaginative representations or symbols of faith in God and a spiritual realm. We are interested in these things only, on the one side, for the imperishable faith and hope behind them, and on the other for their place in the history of human speculation and fancy.[1] Our work as interpreters is done when we have put a writer's views of the unseen world in their proper relation to earlier and later views, and traced their sources and influence, and when we have appreciated his underlying faith and his message to his time. We may not be able to find the source or sense of some fantastic figure, some number or symbol, but we do not suppose that if we could find it we should have actual

[1] "Apocalypses do not reveal to us the secrets of the divine providence, but do reveal the optimistic believing nature of the human soul, the permanent disquiet which makes his dignity."—Sabatier.

light upon unseen realities. We should have new light only upon a past phase of human thought.

Even in the history of religious speculation we can give to apocalypses only a lowly place. They belong among the curious side paths of the mind's activity, leading into thickets, not to any of the great highways of intellectual progress. Yet certain considerations may help us appreciate the value of these books and the degree in which we can find a universal truth in them.

Permanent value of their practical message

Although we cannot receive their theoretical message, yet their practical message for their own time is a true message for all like times, and in a measure for all times alike. Religious faith in times of a dominating, aggressive, or insinuating worldliness needs to maintain itself by the assurance of the real dominion of the unseen world over the world of sense, and by the hope of some approaching manifestation of God, some open demonstration of the rule of justice and goodness. The apocalyptical temper is needed when religion is assailed and in danger; and in all times the religious life needs to maintain its purity and strength by some sort of protest against the world, some defiance of ruling ideals and customs, some faith in realities above those of sense, and in truths contrary to appearances. The greater apocalypses were inspired by a living faith in the ideal and an eager expectation of its coming into reality; and faith in ideals which the world contradicts is too rare and precious a thing to be despised

because its form is strange. We should have a deep sympathy with this as with every effort to rise above the world, to judge the sensible by the eternal, the present by the future, our own times and fortunes by an all-including purpose of God.

Their conception of history as a unity

This leads us over from the directly practical to a certain aspect of the theory of the apocalypses in which we may find a message for to-day. The apocalyptical writings are among the first which can be called in a crude way philosophies of history. Daniel and its successors have grasped the great idea of human history as a unity, as proceeding according to a rational plan and bound to issue in a worthy consummation. The strangeness and perplexity of their present was to be understood in the light of the past and the future. If they could find their place in world history they would understand what baffled them in present conditions. This conception of world history goes back to the prophets and belongs to Israel's monotheism, the unity of history being a corollary of the unity of God. But the apocalypses develop and apply it with a new range and consciousness. It is true that they pushed their faith too far in a deterministic direction. The present rule of evil was divinely decreed, and the day of its end was set. Good men had nothing to do but to wait for the next act in the divine drama. Yet we should recognize the truth for which they stood. There is a modern distinction between those who emphasize the free, creative individual in his-

tory and those who give the decisive place to an ideal evolutionary process. Many historians belong to the former class, and many sociologists to the latter, so that there is truth in the suggestion of Sabatier that "sociologists are the last class of apocalyptical writers."

The supernaturalism of the apocalypse

That which most separates the apocalyptical view from present conceptions is its pure supernaturalism. Even compared with the still more ancient prophets, the apocalyptical writers show less sense of an inner, necessary relation between the present and the past and future. Present evils the prophets declared were due to past sins, not to demoniac agencies, and not to a divine decree. The future is conditioned by the present. Men were called upon not only to wait for it, but to determine it by present choices. On the other hand the apocalyptical writers would reveal an absolutely fixed future, in which they saw not the inevitable results of present conduct, but the violent reversal of present conditions. The sign that this future was near was not the likeness but the unlikeness of the present to it, not the presence but the absence of its powers and qualities.

Truth and error in their view of history

So in the apocalyptical conception of world history we find something to admire and also something to criticise. The idea of a divine plan that determines human history and contains the explanation of what seems like chance or mishap or injustice in it, we can approve, even though the specific plans of Daniel and of Revelation have been proved

mistaken. The idea that the present world is given over to the rule of evil, even though balanced by the belief that it was God who gave it, and that he will take it back again ; the idea that nothing can be done to remedy the evils, but that they must increase till at their height God interferes and brings them to an end,—with this pessimistic view of the present world and purely supernaturalistic conception of the coming rule of good, we cannot sympathize. It must be admitted that the dualistic contrast between this world and the world to come is of fundamental significance to the apocalypses, and if, as we believe, it is mistaken, it is a fundamental mistake. Yet we may partly forgive a pessimistic view of the present world in those who held so grand an optimism in regard to the universe as a whole.

Value of the apocalyptical in comparison with the legal type of religion

We should be the more ready to forgive when we remember the type of religion which stood in contrast with this. It would be hardly fair to compare the apocalyptical with the sceptical type of religion represented by Ecclesiastes, because this was exceptional. It is certainly better to look for a miraculous change, not conditioned by anything in the present or in man, than to think that nothing changes, that all things move in a ceaseless round without progress, and that the lot of the righteous and the wicked may be at last the same. But the type of religion with which it is fair to compare the apocalyptical is the legal. This was what finally prevailed in Judaism. It was better adapted

to the average man in average times, and to men of culture and responsible position at all times. Much can be said for the type of piety that legalism could and did produce, for its greater sobriety and stability, its greater individuality and higher ethical quality, though these were not all that could be desired. But, on the other hand, the element of emotion and enthusiasm is fostered by apocalyptical hopes, and in their atmosphere the formalism and selfishness which legalism tends to produce do not thrive. The apocalyptical seer is enlisted in a cause larger than his own, in the coming of the new age and not simply in his individual part in the world to come. It is better to have large outlooks and stirring enthusiasms than to rest in the minute study of the law's details and the anxious observance of its ritual. It is better to hope for a coming supernatural Kingdom of God than to identify his kingdom with an exclusive church, as Jewish and afterward Catholic legalism tended to do. The tendencies in Judaism which led directly to its rejection of the apocalyptical type are not such as we can wholly admire.

Significance of the apocalypse in the beginnings of Christianity

This comparison leads to another consideration which may help us to appreciate the elements of permanent value in the apocalypses. What does it signify that early Christianity took up and developed these books as Judaism let them go? Is it true that Christianity was the product of the apocalyptical movement in Judaism, while its other movements issued in rabbinical legalism? It would in-

deed appear, when we read the gospels and the letters of Paul, as if Christianity took its start in a critical and negative attitude toward legalism, and in a positive affirmation of the apocalyptical hopes. From this our inference might be that the apocalypses contained more of that universality of scope and spirituality of meaning which mark Christianity than did the ruling legal traditions and practices. But there is another interpretation of the matter. It may be held that the connection of Christianity with the apocalypses was accidental not essential, a harm rather than a gain. The apocalyptical element in early Christianity, it may be argued, was an unfortunate Jewish survival which hampered the gospel, and made a long battle necessary before universality and spirituality could win the day. The war indeed has not ended even now. Millenarianism is simply the apocalyptical form of Christian faith, which many still think the only genuine form.

There is really no more vital question than the one thus raised. Historians of the life of Christ and the beginnings of Christianity are chiefly divided at just this point, the significance of the apocalyptical element. It is far too great a problem to discuss here. Truth lies in mediating rather than in extreme views. No doubt one of the most difficult and important struggles of the early centuries of Christianity was that by which it freed itself from the apocalyptical inheritance which it received almost at birth. No doubt, on the other hand the summons and the promises

of Christ appealed most to those Jews who were least under the burden of legalism, to those who were most sensitive and eager in their Messianic anticipations. The forward look, discontent with themselves and their times, trust in God and his purpose of good, the enthusiastic and expectant temper, best prepared men at the first to listen to the message of the prophet of Galilee, and afterward to maintain the new faith against the adverse world.[1]

Relation of Jesus to apocalyptical hopes

But was it true that the gospel as Jesus preached it was an apocalypse? We have compared prophecy and apocalypse, and have found that closely related though they are, they represent two contrasted conceptions of the nature of revelation, two ideas of the supernatural, two estimates of the present life, two theologies, almost two religions. Christ's own relationship was far closer with prophecy than with the apocalypse. Christianity was a new prophetic movement, pre-announced by a prophet of the older, not the later type, and founded by one in whom the prophetic spirit was present in its fulness. It could not but find its closest point of connection with Judaism in surviving prophecy, degenerate though it was; and it could hardly escape injury from the very degeneracy into which prophecy had fallen. Yet even apart

[1] The apocalyptical literature was "an evil inheritance which the Christians took over from the Jews"; yet "these ideas encircled the earliest Christendom as with a wall of fire, and preserved it from a too early contact with the world" (Harnack, *History of Dogma*, i., p. 101 and n. 3).

from critical inquiries which might lead us further still, it can truly be said that there is in the gospels far more of the prophetic than of the apocalyptical type, and that this is still just as true of the letters of Paul.

Prophecy rather than apocalypse has a permanent value

The fact that Christianity arose in close relation to the apocalypses is therefore proof rather of its prophetic nature than of the superior and permanent value of the apocalyptical form. In fact, it is from prophecy that we are to expect a message for to-day, and from apocalypses only so far as they are really prophetic. For what is it that we want from a prophet? It is not disclosures of mysterious matters which we never before imagined and have no means of verifying. It is rather assurance in regard to the reality of our best known ideals and hopes. We want the prophet to speak, with certainty and with a compelling authority, of God and righteousness and immortality. It is a sense of the reality of the eternal rather than a sense-vision of heaven and the future that a prophet should impart. Yet it remains true that the sense of the reality of eternal things is inseparable from the belief in their future manifestation and evident dominion. In other words, eschatology has its essential worth in religious faith. Religious history supplies abundant proof how constantly eschatology furnishes the motive that gives faith its victory over the world, and truth and justice their kingship over the heart.

Religious value of eschatology

We need not be surprised at this. Experience furnishes

many analogies. One who lives in perilous times, who faces national or personal dangers, experiences an intensifying of his powers, and not infrequently a clarifying of his judgments. A reversal of his estimates of people and things, a sudden realization of the true meaning of life, may come from the crisis, and one who has always lived a worldly life may be able all at once to look at his life in the light of the eternal. The truth of his insight will remain even if the crisis passes and the catastrophe is averted. If a great man interprets a national crisis so as to bring home to the nation its true ideals and destination he remains a true prophet even if his forecast was mistaken. Without the critical situation it is probable that the great man could never have brought so much truth to such powerful expression. So an eschatology is not to be judged by a simple rule of agreement with facts, but rather by its fitness under the circumstances to quicken faith in God, to stir the conscience and put men's wills under the dominance of ideal motives, to give a living sense of God and eternity. On the other hand, an eschatology without an ideal foundation, in which curiosity takes the place of moral seriousness, which seeks to compensate for want of power to understand and control the present life by the detail with which it describes regions above and below and times to come, is of little value. But the man who chooses the future instead of the present and conquers the present by the future, has made in one form, in the form often most

effective, the great choice of the eternal instead of the transitory, the spiritual instead of the sensible. Can the choice be made in any other form so effectively?[1] In the apocalypses at all events the great choice is made in this form, and they are of value to-day just so far as they help us to make and to give expression to that choice. Their message for us, their abiding truth, is their conquest of self and the world, their resolute choice of the part of God against the apparent interests of the hour, the spirit, at its highest, of martyrdom. The forms which this truth shaped for itself are strange to us, and belong wholly to the times from which they come. But as they were always only forms of a certain substance of faith, they rightly become for us poetry, and we find their value only in the feelings that inspired them.

The apocalypses then may properly be read either in a historical spirit, as tracts for their times, disclosing the inner life of their circle and age, and interpreted by current conditions and events, or in a devotional spirit, as essentially a form of religious poetry, through which, though the form is often grotesque, one can still feel the pulsations of a true faith in God and in the blessed life to come. The historian has no fault to find with such a free poetic

[1] "The history of religion proves that the greater the moral energy with which a religious community strives to realize its ideals, and the higher those ideals themselves, the more easily it despairs of the present, the more urgently it longs for the immediate coming of God."—Lucius, *Essenismus*, p. 130.

reading of the apocalypses as this. Such reading is fundamentally in accord with the essential, even if unconscious, nature of the books. The use which the historian rejects is that by which men still seek to find the time and course of events still future, or the literal structure and contents of the unseen world. Not for theology, but on the one hand, for history, and on the other—so far as it is worthy—for the liturgical and devotional expression of religious faith and hope, does the apocalypse fulfil a mission for to-day.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

I

INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK OF DANIEL

1. *The Jews under Greek Rule*

Daniel a tract for the times

After our study of the nature of apocalyptical literature in general, we need as a special introduction to the reading of Daniel chiefly a history of the crisis that called it forth. The book was distinctly a tract for the times, and we can best understand it by understanding its times.

The Jews under Greek rule

After two centuries of Persian rule, with the conquest of Alexander the Great, Palestine came under Greek power (332 B. C.). In the division of Alexander's kingdom after his death Cœle-Syria, in which Judea was included, lying between Egypt and Syria, was an object of dispute between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids as long as the two kingdoms endured. For the most part the Ptolemies kept possession of it for a century, until Antiochus III, the Great, finally conquered it for Syria (198 B. C.).

We know far less than we would like to know about the inner history of the Jews during this period It was the policy of Alexander and his successors not only to rule

Jewish parties for and against Hellenism

over conquered territories and collect taxes, but to introduce Greek colonists, to build Greek cities, and to attempt to make a fully Hellenic culture prevail. Hellenism was indeed in its nature a permeating and transforming force. In the face of such an attempt the Jews would inevitably fall into two parties: those who favored Greek culture, either because of its attractiveness or because this was the way to personal advancement, and those who remained faithful to ancestral laws and customs, and resisted heathenism the more stoutly because its form was more alluring. At the head of the latter class, as the special representatives of genuine, exclusive Judaism, were the Chasidim, or Pious. But the attractions of the new culture would be felt by many; more strongly no doubt in Jerusalem than in the country, and by men of wealth and power more than by the common people. At the head of this class stood the priests, the real aristocracy of Judaism, who were under a strong temptation to advance their own interests by falling in with the wishes of the Greek rulers.

Jewish political parties

Another line of cleavage was probably made by the rivalry of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids for the possession of Cœle-Syria. Its conquest by Antiochus the Great was doubtless welcomed by some Jews and disliked by others. Some of the party friendly to Hellenism would seek to further themselves by siding with the new power of Syria; some would hold to Egypt in the hope that it

would soon regain its lost possession. We shall see that it was these two oppositions, the fundamental conflict in principle between the Hellenizers and the Legalists, and the rivalry in politics between the Egyptian and the Syrian sympathizers, that occasioned the assault of Antiochus IV upon the Jewish religion, and so called forth the crisis of which the Book of Daniel was a product.

Position and character of Judaism

We must take account further of the situation and nature of Judaism at this time, before we turn to the efforts and character of Antiochus himself, if we would understand this epoch-making crisis. Judea was the only Jewish land, Jerusalem its only city. In it and about it for only a few miles the majority of Jews lived. Galilee was still a heathen land. Small Jewish communities were scattered about there and east of the Jordan, and there were probably a good many Jews in Egypt, and some in other parts of the Greek world. That Egypt had become almost a second native land of Judaism under the Ptolemies is a fact that may have strengthened the Ptolemaic party in Judea. But though a small and scattered people, the Jews had two possessions of which they had a right to be proud. One was the temple, justly famous as one of the richest temples in the world, honored by heathen rulers with large gifts. This must have been the glory and support of Jews wherever they went. In one thing only they gloried more, the Law, which not only prescribed the priestly ritual of the temple, but ordered the daily life of

the individual, and set the Jews, wherever they might be, evidently apart from other men, and—who could deny it?—evidently above others. For they were distinguished not only by Sabbath observance and various peculiarities as to food and behavior, but by a strict monotheism which forbade their taking part in religious ceremonies other than their own, and by a conspicuous moral rectitude and purity. We know that back of these outward marks the Jews possessed a spiritual treasure of inestimable worth, a religious literature superior to any other in the world, memories of a great past, and a hope so high as to seem almost insane, the hope not only of national independence, but of dominance over the world.

2. *Character and Career of Antiochus IV*

The youth of Antiochus IV in Rome

What now of the deeds and nature of the king who appears in Daniel as the final and supreme embodiment of the rule of evil, Antiochus IV, called Epiphanes? He was a younger son of Antiochus the Great, who after vast conquests which threatened the Roman empire itself, was crushed by Rome and compelled to relinquish almost all his gains except Cœle-Syria, and besides to pay a great annual tribute to his conquerors. This son was sent by his father to Rome as a hostage in the winter of 190–189 B. C., and there grew from boyhood to young manhood, while his older brother succeeded to the throne of Syria (Seleucus IV, 188–176 B. C.). Toward the end

of the reign of Seleucus the Romans compelled him to send his own son and heir, Demetrius, as a hostage, and released Antiochus, who took away with him an intense hatred of Rome and a love of Hellenism which characterized him all his life. On his release he went to Athens and even became chief magistrate of the city. Soon, however, Seleucus was murdered by his chief minister, Heliodorus, who perhaps made an infant son of Seleucus nominal king. Antiochus at once left Athens and succeeded in securing the throne for himself, putting the young king out of the way. Rome thought best still to retain Demetrius, the direct heir.[1] So, as Daniel says (11 : 21–22), Antiochus came to the throne by guile, not by right; and it could also be said that he displaced three kings (7 : 8, 20, 24), though it is not certain whether Heliodorus is included, or whether Seleucus and his two sons, the exiled Demetrius and the murdered infant, are intended, or Demetrius and the Egyptian Ptolemy Philometor, son of the sister of Antiochus, Cleopatra, for whom, it seems, the throne of Syria was claimed.

Release and succession to the throne

Not long after his accession his sister Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, died (173 B. C.), and the regents proposed to claim for her young son Ptolemy Philometor the possession of Cœle-Syria. Antiochus seems at first to have defended himself against these encroachments, but his successes carried him into Egypt itself. He got possession

His first Egyptian campaign

[1] He finally escaped from Rome and gained his throne (162–150 B. C.)

of the person of the young king, his nephew, made Memphis his capitol and then proceeded against Alexandria, where the younger brother of Philometor was set up as king. Antiochus laid siege to Alexandria, but for some reason did not push this attempt to an end. He went back to his own land in glory and pride, leaving Philometor as king, or associate, in Memphis, and a garrison of Syrian troops in Pelusium. This first Egyptian campaign took place in 170, or possibly in 169 B. C. It is summarized in First Maccabees (1 : 16–19), and in Daniel (11 : 25–27), and more fully narrated by Polybius. In Daniel (11 : 28) we read that on his return he gave expression in some way to a deep feeling of hostility against the Jewish religion. According to First Maccabees (1 : 20–28) it was at this time that he entered the temple and plundered it of its sacred vessels and of the gold that adorned it and the treasures deposited there for safe-keeping. It is possible that this is the act of violence described in Second Maccabees (5 : 11–20) as following the *second* Egyptian invasion, and as due to an insurrection that took place upon the rumor that Antiochus was dead.

The second Egyptian campaign

Antiochus must soon return to secure his gains in Egypt, for the two brothers had come to an agreement and united against his pretensions. In the spring of 168 B. C., he made what was probably his second and last Egyptian expedition. He was met by petitions, but by no serious opposition, either by sea or land, and the end of the king-

dom of the Ptolemies, the incorporation of Egypt into the Syrian empire, seemed close at hand.

The interference of Rome

Just then occurred an event of great import, the fall of the Greek Macedonian empire, under King Perseus, at the hand of Rome, in the battle of Pydna (June 22, 168 B. C.). This victory left Rome free to interfere in Egypt and made its interference effectual. That Syria should absorb Egypt could not be at all according to the mind of Rome after it had once broken the Syrian power, when for a time under Antiochus III, it rivalled its own. Immediately after the victory of Pydna a Roman embassy went to Egypt and stopped Antiochus in his victorious march toward Alexandria. The head of the embassy, Popilius, handed the king the decree of the senate, requiring his complete withdrawal from Egypt, and drawing a circle around him demanded an answer before he left it. Under the impression of the power of Rome which the fall of Macedonia produced Antiochus wisely decided to yield. He returned to Syria "in high dudgeon indeed and groaning in spirit, but yielding to the necessities of the time," [1] and one of his first deeds appears to have been the assault upon the Jewish religion, which, though it probably seemed to him a little thing, proved to be of truly epoch-making significance.[2] It outweighed a hundred-fold all other events of his life in its influence on human history.

Before asking after the reasons for this attempt and its

[1] Polybius. [2] See Dan. 11 : 29–30.

Last events in the life of Antiochus

effects, we may briefly sketch the remaining events of Antiochus's career. Though the great prize he had really won had been snatched from his hands, he had demonstrated his power, and seems really to have strengthened his kingdom in various directions. Hence he determined to celebrate his victories in a great festival at Daphne, near Antioch. This did not take place until perhaps the spring of 166 B. C. The ceremonies lasted for thirty days and were followed by further feastings and revelries. Soon after this, perhaps in the summer of 166 B. C., Antiochus made a great campaign eastward and sought to reconquer the Parthians, whom Antiochus III had subdued.[1] He might hope to extend his kingdom in this direction though Rome blocked his way in Egypt and the west. The magnitude of his undertaking is shown by the fact that he gave his young son the title king, appointed a guardian and regent during his absence, Lycias, and took with him the greater part of his army. Of this campaign little is known. He appears to have had many successes but his course was ended by death due to disease, attributed by some to his violation of a Greek sanctuary for the sake of gold.

His character

What was the real character of this king who through his attack upon the Jewish religion, and through the Book of Daniel, became the type of Antichrist, the incarnation

[1] With characteristic boastfulness the Jewish writer in 1 Mac. 3 : 27 ff., affirms that Antiochus undertook this expedition in order to get money to carry on the war with Judas.

in a man of the spirit of the world-kingdom in its hostility to the kingdom of God? According to the writer of Daniel, who was a contemporary, though of course a highly prejudiced witness, this "contemptible person" was characterized by two ruling qualities, a deceitful plausibility by which he concealed his feelings and purposes and gained his ends by cunning, and an overwhelming conceit and arrogance, shown most of all in his shameless assumption of divine rank, and his sacrilegious audacity in suppressing other religions than his own, and of course most of all in lifting his hand against Jehovah.[1] From Polybius, who was also a contemporary, we get a somewhat different impression, though craftiness and presumption are not lacking in his description. From him we learn that Antiochus, though a master of dissimulation, was also a man of an impulsive and capricious nature. The writer of First Maccabees represents him as saying at the end of his life, "I was gracious and beloved in my power";[2] and in some measure this may have been true. He was a man of energy and ambition, attempting magnificent things in war and in art, and accomplishing much. His ruling passion was Hellenic life and Hellenic culture in its external aspects, and he aimed, as Alexander had done, to make Hellenism the dominant and unifying element throughout his realm. He made gifts of splendid

[1] See Dan. 7 : 8, 20–21, 24–25; 8 : 9–12, 23–25; 11 : 21 ff. Cf. 1 Mac. 1 : 41–43.
[2] 1 Mac. 6 : 11.

buildings, temples. altars, colonnades, to Athens and to many other cities. His whims and his extravagances more than offset his good qualities. He seemed to observers at times a high-souled king with cultivated manners, and then again so eccentric as to be almost crazy. Polybius describes some of his fantastic antics as he would steal from court and mingle with the gossip and revelry of the street. He loved pomp and display, yet disliked the solemnity of court life. His festival of triumph at Daphne was magnificent, but his conduct there was not only informal but indecent, so that people seeing the splendor and extravagance of the show and the contemptible conduct of the king, could hardly believe that so much virtue and vice could exist in one nature. We can see his face on a number of his coins,[1] and can perhaps feel something of the fascination and waywardness of his character. The face, however, is idealized after the type at first of Apollo and then even of Zeus, and the star or diadem of rays indicates the divine rank he assumed. The inscriptions show the meaning of his title Epiphanes, which might by itself mean Illustrious. Here it reads Theos Epiphanes, God Manifest. The title had indeed been adopted by an earlier Greek king, Ptolemy V (205–182 B. C.), and the claim of deity was common to the Greek rulers of Egypt and Syria from Alexander himself onward. But Antiochus seems to have pushed this ruler-worship

His assumption of divinity

[1] See Driver's *Daniel*, pp. 191–92.

further than his predecessors. The word "god" appears first on his coins. This imperial cult was regarded as a useful means of unifying a diverse empire, and was adopted first in this same eastern region and for the same purpose by the Roman emperors We shall see of what central significance it was in the production of the New Testament Apocalypse. In judging it we must not forget that none of the eastern peoples made any objection to it except the Jews. All but Jews could worship the king and still keep their ancestral faiths and rites. Indeed, the Hellenizing process, of which this was a part, was welcomed by most communities as a favor; and what is still more significant, the Hellenization of Jerusalem itself was first begged of Antiochus as a privilege by the Jewish aristocracy headed by the high-priest.[1]

Relations of Antiochus to the Jews

Turning back now to the events in his career that chiefly concern us we have to ask why Antiochus plundered the temple on his first return from Egypt, and spent the force of his disappointment and indignation on his second return in an effort to crush out the Jewish religion. In spite of much obscurity in details it is not difficult to come to some understanding as to the main problem. Cœle-Syria was the region for which Antiochus had first undertaken his Egyptian expedition, and it was probably the Jews who more than all others made his hold on this important part of his realm insecure. If he could have kept

[1] 1 Mac. 1 : 11–15; 2 Mac. 4 : 7–17.

even one garrisoned fortress in Egypt he might have felt safe, but having lost even this he must take the greater pains to make the region itself a loyal and peaceful part of his domain. The best way to accomplish this, Antiochus thought, as Alexander thought before him, was to Hellenize the region, to give it the benefits of Greek culture. Other oriental peoples regarded this policy with acquiescence, or even with favor Only the Jews resisted it, or rather, as Antiochus thought, and was really justified in thinking, only a part of the Jews. What was more natural than that he should believe that by giving the high-priesthood and other places of power to Jews of his own party, and getting rid of the adherents of Ptolemy, and by rooting out by force the stubborn and unreasonable superstition which stood in the way of the introduction of the Greek manner of life, he could amalgamate this region with the rest of his kingdom. It has been suggested that the Jews may have hindered his preparations for his last Egyptian campaign, and that he laid its failure to their account, since if he had been a few days earlier he might have been in possession of Alexandria before the Romans could interfere.[1] But perhaps it is not necessary to suppose so definite an offence. The Ptolemaic party was doubtless strong in Judea. The heavy burden of the Roman tribute which Antiochus III had bequeathed to his successors must have made the Seleucid rule oppres-

[1] Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 341.

sive and unpopular. Yet there was a strong Syrian party. It was called the party of the Tobiadæ, or the Sons of Tobias. Its origin is obscure. It appears that soon after his accession Antiochus deposed the high-priest Onias (III?) and gave the office to Jason, a brother of Onias, who promised larger tribute. Jason seems to have been, in contrast to Onias, an adherent of Syrian against Egyptian rule, and was also a zealous Hellenizer. He asked permission to build a gymnasium in Jerusalem and to make it one of the Antiochs. He even sent gifts to Tyre for a sacrifice to Hercules. Yet about 171 B. C. Antiochus displaced Jason and put Menelaus in the high-priesthood, though he was not even of priestly family. Menelaus is said to have secured the murder of Onias.[1] Even if this is not historical it could be said that the year 171 marked the breaking off of the legitimate high-priesthood.[2] During one of the campaigns of Antiochus in Egypt, perhaps at a rumor of his death, Jason returned to Jerusalem, imprisoned Menelaus, and had the city in his power. He could not maintain himself, however, but was obliged to flee, either through a popular movement or by the approach of Antiochus. Some think that Onias was still living and that he also took the opportunity of seeking to regain his office, but that before the coming of Antiochus he fled to Egypt with a band of his followers, and there carried his claims to be the lawful high-priest to the point

[1] 2 Mac. 4 : 32–38. [2] Dan. 9 : 26; 11 : 22.

of building a rival temple at Leontopolis. Some, however, think that this temple was built rather by Onias IV, a son of the murdered Onias III. In any case, the building of this second temple, in spite of Deuteronomy and tradition, not in Jerusalem, nor even in the holy land, but in a foreign country, and the fact that it had a certain recognition by orthodox Jews, and lasted for more than two centuries (about 170 B. C. to 73 A. D.), is a most significant phenomenon. It is evidence of the depth of the cleft that divided Judaism at this crisis. It may have been built at the time when the temple at Jerusalem was a temple of Zeus, but it could not have been sustained if there had not been many Jews who preferred to maintain the legitimate high-priestly line in a foreign land, rather than submit to an illegal high-priesthood at the legitimate temple.

It is little wonder that Antiochus should think the Jerusalemites deserving of chastisement and should consider this obstinate nation, with its deep prejudices and its hot party strifes, dangerous to the security of this disputed and important part of his realm. But he was supported in his efforts by leaders among the Jews themselves, and it is not likely that he anticipated any serious opposition. He may well have supposed that he was acting not with hostility to the Jewish nation itself, but for its interests as well as his own, and in accordance with the wishes of its ruling party.[1] The actual desecration of the temple and the

[1] See Dan. 11 : 30–32.

persecution and war against the Jews were not conducted by Antiochus in person, and we cannot be sure that he intended the horrors that ensued. These may in part have been due to the spite and love of plunder of subordinate officers. According to one account (2 Mac. 9 : 13–17), Antiochus, just before his death, resolved to grant to the Jews religious freedom and the restoration of their temple. Those who put weight on Second Maccabees think it possible, therefore, that the recovery of the temple was not an achievement of Judas, but a concession of Antiochus.[1] This is improbable. It is true, however, that with all the zeal of Antiochus for the introduction of Hellenism, it would have been more in accordance with his character, if he had used flattery and persuasion rather than force to reach his end. And if he had not left the matter to subordinates in his absence, and if his death had not intervened, it is probable that he would have made timely concessions, and would not have allowed his efforts to unify and strengthen his realm to result in a serious breach and loss.

The desecration of the temple and persecution of Jews

The Book of Daniel gives us only a brief summary of the events that followed—the desecration of the temple (11 : 31; cf. 7 : 25; 8 : 11–14; 9 : 27), the apostasy of many Jews and the persecution of those who stood fast (11 : 32–33), the hint of the beginning of the resistance under Judas Maccabeus, which is only half approved (11 : 34), and

[1] Niese and Bevan.

the promise of the approaching end of Antiochus and the Greek empire, and the glorious vindication of those who suffer and even die for their faith in the coming reign of God (11 : 35 ff.). But though its narrative of these events is brief the whole book is a direct witness of the feelings stirred by the events, and the spirit that was called out by them. If we would realize the greatness of the Book of Daniel we should ask ourselves the question, what would have been the history of religion in the world, and what would have been our own religious condition, if the effort of Antiochus to extirpate Judaism had succeeded, and then realize that the faith and hope which this book expresses and which it must have greatly increased, was the only thing that stood in the way of his success. Of course, without Judas Maccabeus, those who shared the faith and hope of Daniel could have been crushed out, but without this faith and hope the victories of Judas would have been wholly impossible.

Details in First and Second Maccabees

For more details about the persecution and about the achievements of Judas we must turn to First Maccabees, and with less confidence to Second Maccabees. From them we learn that beside the prohibition of the temple offerings and the profanation of the temple by the altar to Zeus, the king demanded of Jews the violation of Sabbath and feasts, and of the laws of purity, and especially required as evidence of conversion to Hellenism the sacrifice and eating of swine's flesh, the omission of circum-

cision, and taking part in Greek rites. When persuasion failed force was used, and torture and death were the part of those who would not conform. Although we can find the martyr spirit in Jeremiah and in the literature of the exile and early post-exilic period, it can still be said with essential truth that this was the first proper religious persecution that the Jews had ever met, and that this crisis produced not only a new type of literature, the apocalypse, but a new type of religious character, the martyr. The apocalypse is indeed primarily the embodiment of the faith and expectation that inspires martyrdom, and the Book of Daniel is, in the line of our own religious history, the first book which has the support and praise of martyrdom as its special aim. The New Testament Apocalypse has precisely the same ruling motive.

Judas Maccabeus

Non-resistance was at first the policy of those who remained faithful, but soon the spirit of resistance arose as a leader capable of resisting appeared, Judas Maccabeus. His exploits, and those of his brothers carry us beyond the Book of Daniel, and to tell them even in brief would overpass the limits of this sketch. The amazing successes of Judas and his brothers and the final establishment of an independent Jewish kingdom, which yielded only after a century, and then not to Syria, but in common with Syria to Rome, was made possible only by a number of concurring circumstances. The opportune departure of Antiochus for the east before the resistance of Judas had

become serious, and his death there; the rival efforts of the two generals, Lycias and Phillip, to get the power into their hands, and later rivalries of aspirants to the throne, who found it better to bid for the favor of the Jews than to attempt their overthrow; and in general the decline of the Syrian empire and its practical dependence on Rome, —all these things contributed to the realization of what must have seemed to any unprejudiced on-looker the wildest of dreams, the political independence of the Jews. All these favoring circumstances would indeed have been unavailing, if it had not been for the high and indomitable spirit of the Jewish people, and the energy and capacity of Judas and his successors. Of the latter we read in the Books of the Maccabees; but the spirit of Judaism as this emergency revealed it is best embodied in the Book of Daniel, which is therefore not only a source, but an important part, of one of the great religious crises and turning-points of history. Besides this epoch-marking and epoch-making book it is probable that a number of the Psalms were the product of these events, and breathe the spirit of the people.[1] A few (Ps. 44, 74, 79, 83) may be nearly contemporary with Daniel. Many more may follow, and celebrate the successes of the Maccabean princes. The Book of Daniel most directly and surely reveals the

[1] See Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, p. xli, "the Psalms, many of which (especially those in the later books) certainly date from this period"; and see also McFadyen's *Messages of the Psalmists*, pp. 24–25, 126–36.

heart of Judaism when the blow first fell and faith could only reach after a purely divine and miraculous help.

3. *Evidence that Daniel belongs to the Time of Antiochus*

General agreement of historical students

Have we a right to assume, as we have done, that the Book of Daniel belongs to the time of Antiochus IV? There are still those who think that loyalty to the Bible requires them to apply tests and follow methods with reference to its books which they would not regard as applicable to other books. But those who believe that the books of the Bible are historical documents are practically at one in their acceptance of this date. Some of the reasons for this substantially unanimous opinion must be briefly summarized here.

Interest of the author culminates in the reign of Antiochus

The book in various ways reveals its origin in the time of Antiochus, and more exactly in the time after his desecration of the temple and before his death, and probably also before the reconsecration of the temple (*i.e.*, between December, 168, and December, 165 B. C.). How does the writer betray himself as a contemporary of these events, though he writes as a man of the Exile? Briefly it is by his relative ignorance about the events of the Exile, the increasing accuracy of his knowledge from Alexander onward, and the fulness of detail which he can give about the character and the career of Antiochus IV, up to the point just indicated, the desecration of the temple and the persecution of the Jews. In this character and in these

events all the interest of the writer centres. Here he finds the culmination of the power of evil in world history. He has a most intense interest in what is to follow after this crisis, but of this he gives an account which events did not confirm. His description of the death of Antiochus is wholly mistaken,[1] and his expectation that the death of the king would be the end of the Greek world empire and the beginning of the Kingdom of God and of God's people Israel was of course disappointed.[2]

Errors prove that Daniel is not an exilic book

Some details will illustrate these points. According to Daniel the Babylonian (Chaldean) empire fell at the hands of the Medes, and a Median kingdom under Darius intervened between the Chaldean and the Persian. The second kingdom of chapters 2 and 7 is quite certainly the Median, and the third the Persian; and it is expressly said that Darius the Mede overthrew the Babylonian kingdom and succeeded to the possession of it (5 : 31), and that Cyrus the Persian followed after him (6 : 28). The visions of chapters 7–12 take place, two under the last king of Babylon, one under Darius, and one under Cyrus.

As to the Median kingdom

[1] See 11 : 40–45 and notes.

[2] In a certain way events confirmed the faith and forecast of the book. Antiochus died and the temple was restored, and after a little the Jews gained independence. These things could serve to give prestige to the book, but they are coincidences of a wholly different sort from those that exist between 11 : 1–39 and history. The point at which the writer ceases to tell of things past, under the form and device of vision, and begins really to predict the future is perfectly marked.

But in fact there was no Darius the Mede, and no Median world empire between the Chaldean and the Persian. Darius I was a Persian successor to Cyrus (522–485 B. C.). It was the general of Cyrus, Gobryas, who dealt the final blow against the Babylonian king (539–538 B. C.), and Cyrus himself entered Babylon, without conflict, soon after, and made Gobryas governor of Babylonia. Prophecy had expected that Babylon would be overthrown by the Medes (Isa. 13 : 17 ; 21 : 2 ; Jer. 51 : 11, 28), and this may account for our writer's error. It is also a fact that the Medes made their power felt in world history earlier than the Persians. Under their king Cyaxares (624–584 B. C.) they had the chief part, with the help of the Babylonians, in the overthrow of Assyria. Nineveh fell at their hands (606 B. C.). But the Persian power under Cyrus had already conquered and dispossessed the Medes before it overthrew the Babylonians. The conception of Daniel is not difficult to account for in the case of a writer much later than the events, but it is impossible for a contemporary.

As to Darius

Again this Darius is called the son of Ahasuerus (Xerxes),[1] whereas the historical Darius I was father of Xerxes, who succeeded him (485–465 B. C.). Darius did have to subdue rebellions in Babylon in 521 and 519 B. C., and features of these events may possibly be found in Daniel 5 and 6.

Once more, Belshazzar appears in Daniel as the son

[1] Dan. 9 : 1.

and Belshazzar

and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, reigning at least three years (8 : 1), and the last king of Babylon. In fact four monarchs succeeded Nebuchadnezzar, and the last one, Nabunaid (555–538 B. C.), was a usurper, not of the royal line. He had a son, Belsarusur, who appears to have been at the head of the army in northern Babylonia in the middle of his father's reign. He was never king, and it is not known that he had any important part in connection with the fall of Babylon.

As to the four Persian kings

Again it appears to be explicitly said that there were only four Persian kings in all (11 : 2–4), the last of whom seems to be at once the Xerxes (485–464 B. C.) who invaded Greece and the Darius III whom Alexander the Great subdued in 333 B. C.[1]

Inferences

There are other smaller errors which confirm the judgment that the book cannot have come from the Exile, such as the reference to the deportation of Jehoiakim in his third year (1 : 1), and the form Nebuchadnezzar, as in Chronicles, Ezra and Esther, for Nebuchadrezzar, as in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Errors like these show that the course of tradition after the events was a long one, and make it impossible for us to assume the historical actuality of some things which we cannot test, such as the madness of Nebuchadnezzar and the incidents of chapters 3 and 6. In general the stories of Daniel have every indication of

[1] The Old Testament in fact knows four names of Persian kings—Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

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being freely elaborated, for the sake of admonition and encouragement.

Positive evidence of the later date

In contrast to the writer's errors about the exilic period is the fulness and accuracy of his knowledge about the successors of Alexander, on the thrones of Syria and Egypt. Especially chapter 11, as far as verse 39, is simply history, and at some points supplements the knowledge we get from other sources, especially in regard to Antiochus IV. Some try to escape the inference that Daniel was written at this time by supposing that this chapter is a later Maccabean addition to an exilic book. But this is not warranted by the facts. In all parts of the book the Greek empire, founded by Alexander and divided after his death, appears as the last world empire, after which the Messianic age is expected. The fourth kingdom of chapter 2, partly strong and partly broken, is the great but divided kingdom of Greece. The fourth beast of chapter 7 is the same kingdom. In chapter 8 it is expressly named. Moreover everywhere, though with increasing clearness in successive visions, this last world power reaches its culmination as a power of evil in Antiochus IV. He is the little horn that plucks up three others, and is insolent and impious (7 : 8, 20–21, 24–25). More detailed and unmistakable is the picture of him in the second vision (8 : 9–12, 23–25), where his deceit and pretence are described, and his impious deed in stopping the daily sacrifice of the temple and desecrating the altar.

The visions culminate in Antiochus

The same event forms the climax of the third vision (9 : 26–27), coming at the end of sixty-nine and a half of the seventy weeks from the Exile to the Messianic age.

The stories also fit his reign

But not only do all the visions come to an end with Antiochus IV, but the other parts of the book also perfectly fit the same crisis. The theme of the first story is loyalty to the Jewish laws regarding food, against the command of the foreign king. Just such demands were made by Antiochus (1 Mac. 1 : 47 ; 2 Mac. 6 : 5, 8). In the third story the worship of an image set up by the king is required. So Antiochus demanded of Jews participation in the Greek cult, and especially in the worship of the image of Zeus and of his own image, which he set up in the temple (1 Mac. 1 : 41–43, 47–48 ; 2 : 15 ff. ; 2 Mac. 6 : 7). Nebuchadnezzar, in the next narrative, is humbled because of his proud assumption and his denial of God. So Antiochus had exalted himself above the gods and refused to recognize the supreme God, from whom he received his kingly power. Then comes the judgment of God revealed against Belshazzar in the midst of proud and sacrilegious revelry. So Antiochus had celebrated his victories in luxurious feasting and sensual excesses at Daphne.[1] Darius, in the sixth story, is guilty of the extreme presumption of demanding worship in the place of God. Antiochus called himself "God Manifest," and carried

[1] There was also here a colossal image of Zeus which may have influenced the description of the image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (2 : 31 ff.).

emperor worship to an extreme. It is evident that the stories are perfectly adapted to the crisis to which all the visions point, and we can with confidence ascribe the whole book to this date.

Possible elements of tradition

This does not mean that the writer invented his stories. He probably got much of his material from tradition. There is, indeed, some positive evidence that this was his method. Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar and Darius are not mere names or masks for Antiochus Epiphanes. Antiochus did not do precisely the things ascribed to these kings. He did, however, very similar things, manifested the same arrogant spirit, and attempted the same corruption of Jewish piety. The application of the stories to present circumstances would have been easy and inevitable. Some disguise was of course necessary if a book were to assail the ruling power. Here the disguise is that of story; in the later chapters it is that of vision; and throughout the assumption of exilic date veils the treasonable teaching of the book.

The stories, then, are to be valued not as fact, but for the teaching they were written to enforce. Their use of tradition does not signify that they are historical in character. We must in a measure suppress our modern historical sense in order to appreciate the freedom with which history was adapted and story invented, and history and story blended, for practical religious purposes. We cannot even assume that there was a Daniel in the Exile.

Ezekiel (14 : 14, 20; 28 : 3) refers to a Daniel who, with Noah and Job, was a proverbial type of wisdom and righteousness. This Daniel could not have been a living contemporary of Ezekiel. Ezra (8 : 2) mentions a priest Daniel, as in Ezra's caravan, and among his contemporaries, strangely enough, may be found a Mishael (Neh. 8 : 4), Azariah (Neh. 10 : 2 (3)) and Hananiah (Neh. 10 : 23 (24)). The writer may possibly have found the names here, and transferred them to the Exile, a century earlier.

Confirmatory evidence

The dating of Daniel in the Maccabean age is confirmed by other more general considerations. There is no evidence of the existence of the book or of its influence in earlier writings. Even Ecclesiasticus (about 190 B. C.) is silent about this prophet.[1] The fact that its place is in the Hagiographa, not in the prophetic canon, supports its late origin. The ideas that it contains belong in part only to late Judaism, especially the developed angelology, and the doctrine of the resurrection. The language of the book also points to the same conclusion. There are many Persian words in the book, and a few Greek words. The use of the word "Chaldeans" as equivalent to soothsayers or magicians would have been impossible during the continuance of the Chaldean kingdom or soon after its fall.

[1] See Ecclus. 49 : 6–10, which in the Hebrew text includes Job.

4. *The Exact Date*

That the book was written before and not after the reconsecration of the temple in December, 165 B. C., is almost universally agreed. The dates of First Maccabees are usually accepted. Accordingly the daily sacrifice was stopped on the 15th of Kislev (about December), 168 B. C., and the first heathen sacrifice offered on the 25th. The rededication was just three years after the latter date (25 Kislev, 165 B. C.). The death of Antiochus appears to be about half a year later, in the summer of 164 B. C. There are however some doubts about these dates. December 25th remained the date of the yearly Feast of Dedication in honor of Judas's achievement. But this feast falls suspiciously at the exact time of the wide-spread celebration of the winter solstice, with which some of its rites are connected.[1] It is possible therefore, as in the case of our own Christmas festival on the same date, that the feast gave its day to the historical event, not the event to the feast. That the date was shifted may be indicated by the fact that First Maccabees itself puts the primary and greatest catastrophe ten days earlier. In Second Maccabees the desecration and the dedication take place on the same day (10 : 5), but the interval is two years instead of three (10 : 3). Josephus, in the Jewish Wars, I, 1, makes

Before the rededication of the temple

[1] The rekindling of fires and the lighting of lamps. See 2 Mac. 10:3; 1:18–23.

it three and one-half years, but perhaps this is on account of Daniel. The death of Antiochus is another uncertainty. It is not unlikely that First Maccabees is mistaken, and that his death took place in the winter of 165–164, or at about the same time as the dedication.[1] The coincidence of these two events would have been regarded as a striking verification of the prediction of Daniel.

Before the Eastern campaign of Antiochus

But the book was quite certainly written not only before the death of Antiochus, but before he started on his great Eastern campaign, for the writer would not have passed by an undertaking of such magnitude in his sketch of the king's career, and substituted for it a great victorious invasion of Egypt which never took place (11 : 40–45). The Eastern campaign may well have lasted a year and a half before the death of Antiochus, so that its date would be the summer of 166 B. C. Now if, as Niese thinks, Second Maccabees is right in making the period of desecration two years, its beginning would be in December, 167 B. C., and the Book of Daniel would appear not very long after it, that is, during the first half of 166 B. C.; or if the desecration took place in December, 168 B. C., the book would fall in the year and a half following. The persecution was a new and crushing experience when the book appeared. The resistance under Judas had not reached such proportions as to call to its support all loyal Jews. The writer does not seem to have been much impressed

[1] So Niese argues.

by it (11 : 34). The idea of resistance does not enter into his conception of the task of the righteous in this crisis. He expects only persecution and counsels only endurance until God comes. The Chasidim, to whom our writer belonged, can hardly have joined Judas before he wrote.[1] If the book was written not long after the desecration, and the writer believed it would last three years and a half, then there would be the greater need of his urgent admonition to endurance even to death. It is not the immediateness, but the certainty of the end and the reward on which he insists.

Significance of this historical crisis

I have dwelt so long on the historical crisis of which our book is a product, not only because it is the most essential condition for a right understanding of the book, but because the crisis itself is of such deep-going and far-reaching significance. The whole course of Jewish history and the character of the Jewish religion during the last two centuries before the rise of Christianity is shaped and determined by these events. We are standing at the birth history of a type of literature and a type of piety, in close relation with which Christianity itself arose. This crisis produced a century of national independence for the Jews, with the revival of national ideals and efforts which this involved. It interrupted the Hellenization of Judaism and put an end to its most dangerous phases. It produced by reaction the party of the Pharisees, which

[1] See 1 Mac. 2 : 42.

in the final outcome gave Judaism its permanent impress. It stimulated the Jewish dispersion. Far more than any other event it gave its peculiar character to the Judaism out of which Christianity sprang. It shaped and inspired the religion which both produced and rejected Jesus Christ.

5. *The History of the Book*

The Aramaic section

The book as we have it is partly in Hebrew and partly (2 : 4–7 : 28) in Aramaic. The writer seems to have supposed that Aramaic was the language of the Chaldeans (2 : 4) ; but even if Aramaic, instead of Babylonian, was the court language of Babylon it was not such Aramaic as this. No good reason has been found why the writer continued to use Aramaic to the end of chapter 7. One hypothesis is that the whole book was written in Hebrew and that the original of this part was accidentally lost and the translation substituted. Another and more probable guess is that the book was written in Aramaic, and the first and last part translated into Hebrew when the book was canonized, because Hebrew was the Biblical language. The Book of Ezra was a precedent for a canonical book which had an Aramaic part (4 : 8–6 : 18).[1] It is possible that both in Ezra and in Daniel the change in language is connected with the use of various sources in the composition, but this does not seem probable in the case of Daniel.

[1] So Marti and Cornill.

Unity of the book

It is true that the unity of the book cannot be assumed as certain. Even if, as seems highly probable, it all belongs to the time of Antiochus, it is not impossible that the visions were put forth separately, and that the book is a collection, or a growth. Some think this the only explanation of the change from 1150 days (8 : 14) to 1290 (12 : 11), and then to 1335 (12 : 12), as the length of the time of the temple's desolation. This inconsistency can be explained more simply by supposing 12 : 11–12 a later addition meant to fit the prophecy to a new situation.[1] The prevailing opinion is that the book is substantially a unit.[2]

Earliest use of the book

The earliest evidence of the use of the Book of Daniel is found in First Maccabees 2 : 59–60, and in the Sibylline Oracles, III, 396–400. It is interesting to compare the influence and elaboration of the book in Palestinian and in Alexandrian Judaism. In Palestine it called forth a literature after its own sort, the apocalyptical, of which the oldest extant specimens are contained in the Book of Enoch. One of the later parts of Enoch (chs. 37–70) is most directly dependent on Daniel. In the Alexandrian version the book, as is well known, is supplemented by additional stories which are contained in our Apocrypha : the Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the Three Children, supplementing chapter 3 ; the History of Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon, illustrating the superior wisdom of

[1] Gunkel, Marti, Cornill.

[2] 9 : 4–20 is regarded as a later addition by von Gall, Marti, Cornill.

Daniel. The interest of the Palestinian writers was to interpret their own present and to forecast the future, while the Hellenistic Jews were more concerned with wisdom as a capacity that gave success and honor in common human life.

II

THE REWARDS OF FIDELITY TO THE LAW AND OF FAITH IN GOD (Daniel 1–6)

1. *Loyalty to the Ceremonial Law* (1)

This story introduces Daniel and his three companions as young men who preserved strictly correct Jewish conduct amid the allurements of a heathen court, and tells of the vindication and reward of their fidelity and self-restraint. The violation of the laws regarding food was one of the demands of Antiochus Epiphanes, since this was equivalent to apostasy from Jewish faith.[1] The story was therefore adapted to the needs of the hour.

The choice of Jewish youths for training as "Chaldeans" (1–7)

In the year 605 B. C.[2] Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, took Jerusalem and carried the king Jehoiakim and some of the sacred vessels of the temple to Babylonia,[3] where he put the vessels into the temple of Marduk. Among the Jewish captives who accompanied the king certain hand-

[1] 1 Mac. 1 : 47, 48, 62, 63 ; cf. 2 Mac. 5 : 27 ; 6 : 18 ff. ; 7 : 1.

[2] But in fact Nebuchadnezzar's reign did not begin until 604 B. C.

[3] According to 2 Chron. 36 : 6–7, but not 2 Kings 24 : 1–2.

some and talented young men, of royal blood, were chosen by the chief eunuch, at Nebuchadnezzar's command, to be educated in the literature and language of the Chaldeans, that after three years of training in body and mind they might take their place in the king's service, in the class of the wise men, whose functions were those of priests and magicians.[1] To four Jewish youths selected for this training, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah,[2] Babylonian names were given.

Daniel's resolve and request (8–13)

Daniel, their leader, determined not to violate the Jewish law by eating the food and drinking the wine provided by the king. The chief eunuch did not at first dare to grant his request, but the steward (or the chief eunuch himself) finally consented to give Daniel and his companions uncooked vegetable food and water for ten days on trial.

Vindication in results of the observance of the law (15–21)

At the end of this time their condition compared favorably with that of the other young men, so that this simple fare was continued. God rewarded the abstinence and strict observance of the law practised by the four Jews by giving to them not only physical beauty and health but quick intelligence, and to Daniel especially skill in visions and dreams; so that at the end of the three years the king found

[1] These wise men were so characteristic of the Babylonians that the race name, Chaldeans, came to be specifically applied to them, naturally not till long after the end of the Chaldean empire (Dan. 1:4; 2:2, 4, 5, 10; 3:8; 4:7; 5:7, 11. In the ethnic sense only in 5:30; 9:1).

[2] For these names see Ezra 8:2; Neh. 8:4; 10:2 (3), 23 (24).

them superior to all the rest,[1] and indeed wiser than all the wise men in his kingdom. Daniel held his post in the court until the time of Cyrus, 537 B. C. (about sixty-five years).

2. *Dream of Four World Kingdoms and the Kingdom of God* (2)

This is the first illustration of Daniel's superiority to the wise men of Babylon. Jewish wisdom is superior to heathen because it is due to divine revelation. Its wonderful disclosures of the future prove its divine origin, for only the God who determines the future knows and can make known its secrets. The dream of Nebuchadnezzar contains in its most general form the central message of the book, which the visions of chapters 7–12 only elaborate in greater detail. After the four great world kingdoms there will come, without human effort, suddenly and by miracle, the Kingdom of God. The readers of the book would not fail to recognize that they were living under the fourth kingdom, and to infer that the end was near at hand. This message of the speedy intervention of God, the overthrow of the ungodly power, and the triumph and glory of God's faithful people, was just adapted to inspire Jews to fidelity in the Maccabean

[1] What follows from this point on (vv. 20–21) may be a later gloss, since its extravagant statement does not agree with Nebuchadnezzar's conduct in ch. 2, nor its chronology with 10 : 1, but rather with the Septuagint of 11 : 1.

crisis. The chapter teaches faith in God, whose power through Jewish seers to reveal the future is inseparable from his power through the Jewish nation to bring the prediction to pass.

The king's dream and his unreasonable demand (1–11)

In the second (twelfth?)[1] year of his reign Nebuchadnezzar had a dream which alarmed him, and he summoned his wise men to interpret it.[2] He required them, however, to tell him his dream as well as its interpretation.[3] To the protests of the wise men against this unreasonable demand the king only threatens them with death if they cannot fulfil it, and explains that the requirement is meant to test the reality of the superhuman arts they profess.[4] They replied that such a demand was unheard of, one that only the gods could meet, and, however mysterious and magical their arts, they did not profess that the gods dwelt in them. Inspiration in this (Jewish) sense they denied to man.

His decree of death (12–13)

The king in anger decreed the destruction of all the wise men, including, of course, Daniel and his friends.

[1] The second seems too early on account of 1 : 5, 18.

[2] The four names, magicians, enchanters, sorcerers and Chaldeans, probably do not designate distinct classes, but in part the various methods of divination practised by those who are sometimes called simply wise men (vv. 12, 13, 24), or Chaldeans (vv. 4, 5, 10). Still another name, soothsayers (or determiners) is used (2 : 27 ; 4 : 7 ; 5 : 7, 11).

[3] This story is closely related to that of Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams in Gen. 41, and is partly dependent on it.

[4] Not that he had forgotten the dream.

Daniel delays its execution (14–16) Prayer and its answer (17–19) A psalm of thanksgiving (20–23)

Daniel secured a delay in the execution of the sentence, and in answer to his prayers and those of his fellows, God revealed the dream and its meaning to him in a night vision. Daniel in a psalm praised the wisdom and power of God. It is he that determines the successive periods of world history.[1] Through him kingdoms rise and fall. It is he that reveals the secrets of the future, for he alone knows them.

Daniel comes before the king (24–30)

After giving thanks, Daniel told the captain who was charged to kill the wise men that he was prepared to fulfil the king's demand. Introduced by the captain Daniel appeared before the king, and said: None of the wise men can reveal the king's secret, but there is a God in heaven that reveals secrets, and it is he who has disclosed to the king in his dream the future course and end of human history, on which he was reflecting. For your sake, O king, and not because of my superior wisdom, God has revealed to me the mystery of the dream.

and tells him his dream (31–35)

Your dream was of a colossal statue of brilliant and terrifying appearance. It was made of four sorts of material of lessening value from the head to the feet, gold, silver, brass, and a mixture of iron and clay. As you looked at it, a stone, hewn and cast by no human hand, broke the feet, so that the image fell in a heap and its dust was blown away by the wind, while the stone became an enormous rock.

[1] 2 Chron. 20:6.

This is the meaning of the dream: The four parts of the image, from the head downward, are four successive world empires. Thine, O king [the Babylonian], is the first and greatest, God having given thee, as Jeremiah says (27 : 6–7, 28 : 14), absolute rule over man and beast. The second kingdom [the Median] shall be inferior to thine. The third [the Persian] shall have a world-wide sway. The fourth [the Greek] shall be at first [in Alexander] invincibly strong, but soon division will come. Rivalries [of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies] shall be a source of weakness. Efforts to unite the separate parts by royal marriages [1] will fail, and the world kingdom, in spite of elements of strength, will betray, in its final form, a fatal weakness, which will be a sign of its approaching end. Then God will intervene and overthrow the world empire. In its place he will set up his own rule, to be exercised through his own people, Israel, and never again transferred to another. The stone that you saw in your dream is a guarantee of the certainty of this prediction.

and its meaning (36–45)

The four world kingdoms (37–43)

and the Kingdom of God (44–45)

The king, in wonder and awe, worshipped Daniel as a divine being, and confessed that the God of the Jews is superior to all other gods, because he alone can reveal the future. He promoted Daniel to the highest place in his court, and made him also chief of his wise men. At Daniel's request his three friends were given places of authority in Babylonia, but Daniel remained at the court.

The king confesses God and rewards Daniel (46–49)

[1] More fully described in 11 : 6, 17.

3. *Faith Tried by Fire* (3)

The great image and its worship (1–7)

Nebuchadnezzar made a great statue,[1] covered with gold, ninety feet high and nine feet broad,[2] on a plain near Babylon, and summoned all the officers of his kingdom to its dedication. It was then announced that at the sound of musical instruments all must bow down and worship the image on penalty of death by fire.[3] So when the music sounded everyone worshipped the image.

Accusations, threat and choice (8–18)

Then some of the wise men accused the three Jews of disregarding the king's order. The king in anger summoned them into his presence, and put before them the threatened punishment, adding, Who is the God that shall deliver you out of my hand? They reply, We believe that our God will deliver us, but even if he does not, we will not worship the image.

The execution of the threat (19–23)

Nebuchadnezzar in a rage ordered the furnace heated far beyond its ordinary condition, and the men were bound, without removing their inflammable outer garments, and

The rescue (24–27)

cast into the fire.[4] But when the king looked into the furnace he was amazed at seeing four men unbound and

[1] Whether of himself or of a god is not certain.

[2] This is twice as high in proportion to its breadth as the human figure.

[3] That Nebuchadnezzar could have inflicted such penalties might be known from Jer. 29 : 22, which seems to be a historical allusion. That Antiochus went to this length we can infer from Dan. 11 : 33, and 2 Mac. 7 : 3–5.

[4] Here follow in the LXX, Vulgate and other versions the prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children, which may be read in our Apocrypha.

unharmed, and the fourth, he declared, was like one of the gods. Coming near he summoned them forth as servants of the Most High God.[1] They came forth without a trace of fire on their persons or clothing. Nebuchadnezzar confessed the greatness of Israel's God, and decreed toleration for the Jewish religion throughout the world, with the severest penalties upon all who opposed or denounced it. The three Jews were reinstated in office.[2]

Its consequences (28–30)

4. *The Proud King's Humiliation* (4)

The story of Nebuchadnezzar's humiliation and restoration teaches that Jehovah rules and that earthly kings have their kingdom from him, and must recognize his supreme kingship if they would hold their own with security. The idea is by no means new. Our writer is influenced in his expression of it by Jeremiah 27 : 5–6. Isaiah had already expressed the same faith with reference to Assyria (Isa. 10 : 5 ff.), and had preached the truth that pride and indifference to the majesty of God is man's great sin and will bring upon him God's humbling judgment. In Daniel the message is made the more striking because it is put into the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar himself, as a communication to all peoples. In a part of the chapter indeed the writer seems to forget this device, and Nebuchadnezzar

[1] This phrase is often used, from Gen. 14 on, and especially as a heathen name for the one true God of Israel.

[2] The story illustrates Isa. 43 : 2.

is spoken of in the third person (vv. 19–33). The fitness of the story to sustain the courage of Jews in resisting the arrogant claims of Antiochus is obvious. That any actual incident in Nebuchadnezzar's life underlies it is improbable. Yet here as elsewhere the writer may have availed himself of current traditions. A Babylonian legend is actually preserved,[1] which goes back to about 300 B. C., that Nebuchadnezzar was once inspired to predict the overthrow of the Babylonian kingdom by Cyrus, and that he expressed the wish that Cyrus might rather be driven forth to wander alone among the wild beasts of the desert. It is of some interest to observe that in both stories Nebuchadnezzar receives a divine communication, and that the fate which in the Babylonian story he invokes upon the enemy of his nation, in Daniel falls upon himself. This may give us a suggestion of the free way in which such legendary materials were handled. Of course, the story contains further evidence of the skill and truth of Daniel's interpretation of mysteries.

Greeting and theme (1–3)

Nebuchadnezzar greets all nations, and wishes to make known to them a wonderful experience in which the God of Israel showed him his power and eternal rulership.

Nebuchadnezzar, troubled by a dream, turns to Daniel (4–9)

I was in peace and prosperity, with no thought of evil, when I had a dream that troubled me. My wise men could not interpret it. I therefore called in Daniel, who is a truly inspired magician, and told him this dream: I

[1] Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.*, ix., 41.

saw a great tree that seemed to fill the earth and reach to the sky.[1] It was beautiful, and its fruit gave food and its branches shelter to all. Then an angel came from heaven and ordered the tree cut down, warned beasts and birds to flee, and commanded that the stump be left immovable [2] in the grass, wet with dew, in company with the beasts, and that a beast's mind take the place in him of a man's;[3] and this for seven years.[4] Such is the sentence of the angelic court, and its purpose is to teach that God rules on earth and gives power to whomsoever he will.

and tells him the dream (10–18)

To this dream Daniel after long hesitation, because of its appalling import, gave me the interpretation. The tree, he said, is thyself, O king, and the words of the angel signify that God decrees for thee a life among the beasts and as one of them for seven years, till thou shalt acknowledge that he alone is king. But as the stump was preserved, so thou shalt be restored, after confessing that heaven [5]

The interpretation (19–27)

[1] Compare the tree to which Assyria is likened in Ezek. 31 : 3–14.

[2] This may be the meaning of the band of iron and brass, but the writer may already have dropped the figure.

[3] This applies only to the king, no longer in any sense to the tree. Insanity was conceived of as possession by a brute soul.

[4] "Times," stands for years, in accordance with the apocalyptical terminology, in which simple things are hidden behind mystical names.

[5] The earliest use of heaven as a name of God, not elsewhere in the Old Testament (yet cf. 2 Chron. 32 : 20), but very common in later writings. The verse shows how easy the change would be from the idea of the God of heaven ruling through the ministry of heavenly beings, to the use of "the heavens" as a name of God himself.

rules. But now, O king, know that by righteousness and alms-giving this evil may be averted.

The fulfilment. Insanity of the king (28–33)

A year later, as the king was surveying Babylon from the roof of his palace, and glorying in the splendid city he had made for himself, a voice from heaven [1] announced the end of his rule and the fulfilment of the dream, which followed that very hour. The king became insane and lived as a wild man among the beasts, imagining himself to be one of them.

His recovery and conversion (34–37)

At the end of the seven years, I, Nebuchadnezzar, looked up toward heaven, and with this sign of my recognition of God I became sane again and praised God as the only and absolute ruler. Then I was re-established in my place as king, and now I worship the God who rules in justice and humbles the proud.

5. *God's Judgment upon a Sacrilegious King* (5)

That God abases those who walk in pride (4 : 37) is also the theme of the story of Belshazzar, and this story is closely connected with the preceding one by Daniel's repetition of the story of the humiliation and conversion of Nebuchadnezzar (vv. 18–21). The sin of Belshazzar was greater than his father's, for he not only forgot God in his pride, but was guilty of an act of sacrilege in using the temple vessels in a feast. The application of the story

[1] Later Jews had much to say about the Bath Kol as a means of revelation. See Matt. 3 : 17 ; 17 : 5 ; John 12 : 28 ; Acts 11 : 7, 9 ; Rev. 10 : 4.

to Antiochus was self-evident. He had despoiled the temple of its holy vessels (1 Mac. 1 : 21–24), though we do not know that he had put them to a profane use. Boisterous revelry, however, he often did indulge in; and as to sacrilege, the erecting of an altar to Zeus on the altar of burnt incense was far worse than Belshazzar's deed. The fall of Antiochus, the writer meant to say, is no less certain than that of this prototype, and like his it will involve the end of his dynasty and race.

The feast and the king's impiety (1–4)

Belshazzar gave a magnificent feast to one thousand of his lords. When under the influence of wine he ordered the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the temple of Jerusalem to be brought in and used by the feasters, the women of the king's harem, as well as the men.

The writing on the wall (5–9)

In the midst of this revelry the king was terrified by the sight of a hand, writing on the wall. Summoning his wise men he offered one of the three highest places in his kingdom to the one who could read and interpret the writing, but none could do it.

Daniel is summoned (10–17)

The queen reminded Belshazzar of the way in which Daniel had proved his skill and inspiration during the preceding reign. He was therefore summoned, and the task and rewards set before him. Renouncing the rewards he promised to read the writing and disclose its meaning.

He first rebuked Belshazzar for not learning from his

He rebukes the king and interprets the writing (18–28)

father's insanity and recovery to acknowledge the true God. In spite of this he has gone even further in putting the holy property of God to profane use, and in worshipping idols in place of the creator and sustainer of his life. On this account the hand was sent to write words of doom, MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN (or, AND PARSIN). These are the names of three weights, or coins: *mene*, fifty shekels, *tekel*, a shekel, *upharsin* (two?) half-shekels.[1] But the words suggest something more than mere weights. *Mene* means numbered; so thy kingdom is numbered and ended. *Tekel* suggests weighed (Tekûl); so thou art weighed and found lacking. Peres[2] suggests both divided (Pĕrîs) and Persian (Paras); so thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians.

The reward of Daniel and the end of Belshazzar (29–31)

The king fulfilled his promise to Daniel, and that very night was slain and succeeded by Darius, the Mede, who was about thirty-two years old.

6. *God's Protection of one who Would not Worship a King* (6)

The lesson of this story is like that of chapters 1 and 3, the safety of obedience to the law, without secrecy or fear, whatever the threats and persecutions of the godless. The

[1] Some think the weights suggest the great Babylonian kingdom, the lesser Medo-Persian, and the divided Greek; or Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and the dual Medo-Persian kingdom.

[2] This may be the singular of which Parsin is the plural or dual.

story, which is closely related to that of chapter 3, was of value even to its writer, not as fact, but as truth. The religious faith it embodies is contained in Psalm 91 : 10–13, a passage that can be so misapplied as to express an untruth and become a temptation to sin (Matt. 4 : 5–7). Its truth is adapted to those who face persecution for righteousness' sake. The fitness of the story to the times is obvious. Antiochus assumed the rôle of a deity, as other Greek kings had done, but with greater arrogance, and the Jews were compelled to take part in this cult on pain of death.

Daniel's high place (1–3)

Darius gave Daniel a position like that which Belshazzar awarded him, that of one of three chief officers to whom the one hundred and twenty satraps who ruled his domain were accountable. Daniel proved so superior to the others, because of the divine presence with him, that the king thought of putting him in sole command.

The plot against him (4–9)

Jealous of his power the other officers conspired to bring about his fall. They could find no fault with his administration of his office, and could hope to rob him of the king's favor only on the ground of his peculiar religion. They therefore proposed to Darius to demand that prayer should be addressed to none but himself for thirty days, on pain of being cast to the lions. They succeeded in getting the king's consent to this flattering request, and his formal assumption of the rôle of a god.

Daniel continued his habit of praying three times daily

Daniel is a victim of the conspiracy (10–17)

at his open window with his face toward Jerusalem.[1] His enemies found him thus, and accused him to the king. Darius was not angry with Daniel, but rather regretted his own action. He made every effort to save Daniel, but in vain. The king's decree was inviolable and the sentence must be executed. With the hope that Daniel's God would yet deliver him, Darius committed him to the lions, closing and sealing the den.

The deliverance (18–24)

After a sleepless night the king hastened to the den and was rejoiced to find Daniel unharmed. An angel, he said, had kept him safe, because of his innocence before God and the king, and because of his faith. Daniel's accusers and their families were cast into the den in his place, and were immediately destroyed by the ravenous fury of the beasts.

The decree of toleration (25–28)

Then Darius wrote a decree of toleration for the Jewish religion, as Nebuchadnezzar had done, to be enforced in all his realm. So Daniel prospered under Darius, and still later under Cyrus.

III

VISIONS OF THE FALL OF ANTIOCHUS AND THE COMING OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD (7–12)

The second main division of the book, chapters 7–12, consists of four visions of Daniel, seen in the reigns of

[1] See Ps. 55 : 17 ; 1 Kings 8 : 35, 38, 44, 48 ; Tobit 3 : 11.

Belshazzar, Darius and Cyrus. They are told in the first person, but the first and fourth are introduced by a verse which speaks of Daniel in the third person, as is the case throughout chapters 1–6. It is said definitely that Daniel himself wrote the first vision (7 : 1), and it is implied that he wrote them all, or all of the book, and sealed it, so that its contents should remain unknown and unchanged until the time of the fulfilment, long after his death (12 : 4, 9, 13 ; cf. 8 : 26). Purpose of chapters 7–12

The aim of this second part of the book is the same as that of the first. There by stories of past judgments and deliverances, here by visions of the immediately approaching overthrow of Israel's enemy, and the glorious salvation of the faithful people of God, the Jews were admonished to endure persecution and hold fast to the law. In chapter 2, in the earlier section, the message of the visions is anticipated.

1. *Origin and Growth of the Vision of Four Beasts*

The first vision is in many ways of great importance in the history of religion. This is clear enough simply in view of the fact that the Messianic use of the phrase, Son of Man, in Enoch and in the Gospels has its source here. The chapter contains the vision (1–14) ; its effect on Daniel, and his appeal to an angel for its meaning (15–16) ; a summary interpretation (17–18) ; a further request for more particulars (19–22) ; the reply of the Importance and contents of chapter 7

angel (23–27); and Daniel's mental state after the vision (28).

Relation between the vision and the interpretation

It is to be noticed that in Daniel's request for more particulars (19–22) he adds some details to the vision itself: namely, that the fourth beast had "nails of brass"; that the little horn became greater than the others; and that it made war with the saints and prevailed against them. Nothing is said of such a war in verse 8. Further the reply of the angel (23–27) not only describes the fourth kingdom and the character and deeds of its last king, but adds the important new item that his insolent and sacrilegious dominance over the saints is to last three and a half "times" (v. 25). Why does the vision as it is first described lack these elements? Again why does it contain elements not used in the interpretation? "The four winds," and the storm which they cause on "the great sea" are unexplained. Again the description of the diverse appearance of the four beasts occupies an important place in the vision (3–8), but the interpretation passes all this by with the general remark that the four beasts are four kingdoms, adding "that shall arise out of the earth," in contrast to v. 3, and then gives attention only to the fourth beast, and chiefly to the eleventh horn (18–25). Now there is much in the description of the first three beasts that needs elucidation. If these had been interpreted even as fully as were the four parts of the image in chapter 2, or with entire explicitness as are the

animal figures in the second vision (ch. 8), how long a chapter of religious history would have been not at all or very differently written!

Inferences as to the source of the vision, whether invention, tradition or trance

What are we to infer from this partial want of adjustment between the vision and the interpretation? Our answer to this question bears on the answer to another: Where did our writer get the vision from? Did he invent it? Did he get it from tradition? Did he see it in a literal trance? The relation of invention and tradition in the writing of apocalypses is a most important and difficult problem, as we have already seen. In a case like the one before us we should naturally look for tradition especially in those features of the vision which the writer does not apply or explain in his interpretation. On the other hand we should suspect invention, creating or at least modifying the material, at points which fit with special closeness the message he is most interested in communicating, and the peculiar situation of his own time.

Now in verses 2 and 3 there are features that seem to have no significance to the writer (cf. v. 17). It is natural therefore to suppose that the winds and the stormy sea and the coming up of the beasts that stand for the godless kingdoms out of the sea, belong to a fixed tradition. And in fact we have positive evidence that this is the case. This is a new form of the old conception of the dragon of the watery chaos. On the other hand the enumeration of just four beasts, and the precise description of them,

fits the writer's view of the four kingdoms of which he wrote in chapter 2 closely enough so that we may suppose that he fashioned, or at least refashioned them with a measure of independence, though the fact that he does not care to give an interpretation of their details by the angel makes one hesitate. Perhaps the idea of the four world kingdoms and the adaptation of the chaos monster to them were already current in the circles to which our writer belonged. His creative hand is most clearly seen in the fourth beast and especially in the little horn, which is not a natural feature in the picture, but is far the most important feature for the author's purpose. In fact this is history under only a thin disguise. The little horn is described not as a horn, but as a man (v. 8).

In the vision of God and his judgment and the one like a son of man and his dominion (9–14), the proportion and relation of old and new are harder to determine. The vision is not unrelated to earlier visions of God (1 Kings 22: 19; Deut. 33: 2 (?); Ex. 24: 10; Isa. 6; Ezek. 1). The figure of the one like a man, the representative of the holy people of God and of their destined rulership, in contrast to the beasts who represent the heathen kingdoms, certainly embodies the writer's ruling faith and hope, and we are tempted to regard this use of it as in a measure his own.

But, it may be asked, what of the third possibility, that the whole vision, just as it is described, was seen by the seer in actual vision or trance? Our earlier study of vision

has prepared us to consider the question in an unprejudiced spirit, and to realize that it does not in fact involve a third view of the source of the symbolism essentially different from the two already considered, tradition and invention. The question of actual vision resolves itself for us practically into the question of the presence of an emotional element in our writer's experience, more or less in excess of the normal. In verses 15 and 28 partly physical effects are described, which might follow a more or less complete state of trance or ecstasy. The reality of the vision as a psychological experience can be admitted more easily in the case of some apocalyptical products than in that of others; more easily, for example, in this first than in the second of Daniel's visions. But even when it is present in a high degree it does not make the appeal to tradition and to inventive imagination superfluous or mistaken. For even in such states the mind still works over materials which it already possesses. Indeed the natural effect of these conditions of emotional transport is rather to give new meanings to objects present before the senses, or in memory, than to create wholly new objects.

Relation of trance to the use of tradition and invention

2. "*One like unto a Son of Man*"

The main points in the interpretation of this vision are clear. The four beast-like figures, and the figure like a man stand for the nations which successively possess dominion over the world. It is highly probable that the

Interpretation of the vision in general

four are the same that are imaged in Nebuchadnezzar's dream (ch. 2). Beyond question the first is the Babylonian and the fourth the Greek.

Views as to the Son of Man

In regard to the figure "like unto a son of man," that is, simply, like a man (v. 13), although in some way it must represent Israel, three different interpretations are possible.

Is it the Messiah?

In the earliest use of the vision of which we have knowledge, in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch (chs. 37–70), this figure is understood to be the Messiah. So it is in the New Testament,[1] and in Second Esdras 13 : 3; and this has been the current Jewish and Christian interpretation. It does not seem, however, to have been the meaning of the writer. The expression "one *like* a man" excludes the view that it was actually a man. Moreover no Messiah appears elsewhere. The task of overthrowing the Greek king and setting up the kingdom of Israel is ascribed to God himself, or where an intermediary agent appears it is Michael, the angel prince of Israel. Moreover, the writer seems to give an explicit interpretation of the figure. In verse 14 he is the one to whom the kingdom is finally to be given, and in verses 18, 22 and 27 this honor falls to "the people of the saints of the Most High."

Is it a symbol of Israel?

[1] See, for example, Matt. 24 : 30; 26 : 64; 16 : 27 f. It is not so clear how the writer of Revelation understood it. He uses the imagery to describe his vision of the heavenly Christ in 1 : 13, but only in connection with features taken from the Ancient of Days (v. 14), and the angel of Dan., 10 : 5–6, while in Rev. 14 : 14 he seems to take the figure to be an angel rather than the Messiah.

According to this, just as the beasts are symbolic representations of four successive ruling nations, from the Babylonian to the Greek, so the human figure is a symbol of Israel, as it finally receives the kingdom at God's hand. This is the view of the majority of recent commentators.

Is it an angel?

There is, however, a third possibility. This heavenly representative of Israel may be an angel rather than a mere symbol; and if an angel then presumably Michael, since he is Israel's representative and counterpart in the spirit realm. In favor of this view, which has been urged by two recent writers independently,[1] it may be argued that the figure has a distinctly heavenly character, and especially that the coming on clouds is appropriate only for God (*e.g.*, Isa. 19 : 1 ; Ps. 104 : 3) or an angel (cf. Rev. 10 : 1). The impression he makes is that of majesty, not of human weakness. There is no hint of foregoing sufferings, such as Israel has to endure (7 : 25 ; 12 : 1), nor of impurities needing to be cleansed (11 : 35). Furthermore, very similar expressions are used of an angel in 8 : 15, 16 ; 9 : 21 ; 10 : 16, 18. An angel is not a man, but is like a man. This view does justice both to the impression of distinct personality which led to the first interpretation of the figure as Messiah, and also to the second interpretation which regards it as a symbol of

[1] Prof. N. Schmidt, in Journal of Biblical Literature, 1900, i., pp. 22–28; and Prof. J. Grill, *Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums*, 1900, i., pp. 50–57.

the people of God. For this writer shares the current belief in guardian, or rather representative, angels of the nations (10 : 13, 14 ; 10 : 20 ; 11 : 1). Michael is Israel's angel prince, and his victory in the heavenly realm over the angels of other nations, and his receiving the kingdom, would mean precisely Israel's victory over its enemies on earth and its attainment of world-rulership. In fact it is evident that Michael occupies an important place in our writer's view of Israel's fortunes, and his mediatorship is an important factor in the coming of the longed-for salvation. He, with Gabriel, fights against Israel's enemies, the angels of Persia and Greece, and his appearance as Israel's champion at the height of its distress will mean the coming of its salvation and glory (12 : 1). In this passage he appears immediately after the death of Antiochus (11 : 45), just as in 7 : 13 the one like a man appears just after the same event (vv. 11–12). It is not said that Michael himself overthrows Greece, unless this is implied in 10 : 20, 21. It was, however, at some time a current idea that Michael was to be the conqueror of the demoniac dragon power (Rev. 12 : 7). It is natural, therefore, to raise the question whether either in our writer's own view, or in the older tradition of which he made use, the one like a man was not himself the destroyer of the water beast.[1] If so then 7 : 11–12 would describe

[1] According to the LXX, 8 : 11, it appears that Michael is to be the deliverer of Israel from Antiochus.

this victory, and in verse 13 the conqueror would be seen rising up from his conflict with the sea-monster, borne on a cloud to the presence of God, where he receives as a reward for his victory rulership over the world.[1] This, however, is not so clear as is the general idea that the one like a man is an angel. This is probably the view of the writer, and it seems also to have been the understanding of the passage in Revelation 14 : 14, where the connection prevents us from understanding it as the Messiah.

The beasts as demons

If the one like a man is an angel being, the question arises whether the beasts may not also be more than symbols. In fact, the ancient chaos dragon, whose element is the sea, has a demoniac character, and it is not improbable that in this new form the old personification may have been still in mind. This would account for the fact that the first three beasts seem to be still in existence after the fourth is destroyed, and continue for a time after the judgment, though without power (v. 12). This could not be said of the Babylonian, Median and Persian kingdoms, but might be said of their spirit counterparts.

Influence on later ideas of Messiah

It is important to notice that our writer does not expect a human deliverer from the present distress, but only a divine. A hero and king of David's line and of David's

[1] According to 2 Esdr. 13 : 1, the Son of Man rises from the heart of the sea, and it must be confessed that the expressions used in Dan. 7 : 13 do not justify the idea of Enoch 37–70, that he comes from heaven where he pre-exists. He comes not from God but to him.

type, the Messiah, as he was popularly regarded, could neither save Israel in this supreme peril, nor bring to pass so transcendent a destination for the true people of God as this writer hoped for. An angel counterpart of the Messianic nation therefore displaces the human representative. It is also exceedingly interesting to see how, partly, and perhaps even largely, under the influence of this passage, the Messiah was himself later on lifted up and given an angelic rather than a Davidic character.[1] So that although in Daniel the Messiah is displaced by an angelic being, yet in the end the book had a very great influence on the development of the conception of Messiah, by which angelic qualities are ascribed to him, and contributed to the process by which a part of Judaism was prepared to accept as Messiah one who renounced the Davidic ideal.

3. *The Four World Kingdoms and the Kingdom of God* (7)

The vision of four beasts (1–3)

In the first year of Belshazzar Daniel had a dream-vision at night, which he wrote down as follows: I saw a wind-tossed sea,[2] and out of it came four great beasts, one after another.

The Babylonian kingdom (4)

The noblest of the four was the first, a lion with vulture's wings. Its wings were torn off, symbolizing the humbling of its soaring pride; but then it was raised up from its

[1] Enoch 37–70.

[2] The familiar symbol of the source and element of the power of evil.

humiliation and given the appearance and mind of a man.[1]

The second beast was like a bear, half reclining, representing a voracious and insatiable, but slothful, power. Three ribs in its mouth suggested that it had just devoured a kingdom (or three kingdoms?), and it was summoned to devour yet more.[2] The kingdom of the Medes (5)

The third beast was like a leopard (or panther) with four wings (suggesting the rapidity and range of its movements), and four heads, that is four kings. The world empire was given to this kingdom.[3] The kingdom of Persia (6)

Then I saw a fourth beast, too terrible in aspect and power to be compared with any earthly animal. It had

[1] To be understood of Nebuchadnezzar, representing the first and best of the four kingdoms, the head of gold (2 : 37–38), and the humiliation through which he was healed of his heathen arrogance and obtained a truly human (Jewish) character (ch. 4).

[2] Probably the Medes, in accordance with 2 : 39[a]. The Medes were merciless conquerors during the Assyrian and Chaldean periods, yet remained an inferior power. The character of the Medes is described in Isa. 13 : 17–18; 21 : 2; Jer. 51 : 11, 28. Since the first beast represented Nebuchadnezzar personally, it has been suggested that the second is Belshazzar, the luxurious, feasting king. But this is less probable. It is true that the king and the kingdom were almost interchangeable terms to our writer (cf. 7 : 17 with 7 : 23–24).

[3] The Persian empire, which under Cyrus gained the position of the ruling world power. So in 2 : 39[b]. That our author supposed that there were only four kings of Persia appears from 11 : 2 (see p. 157). Those who regard the second beast as Belshazzar are obliged to make this the Medo-Persian empire; but this is not in accordance with our writer's view.

The Greek empire and Antiochus IV (7–8)

iron teeth (and brass claws, v. 19) with which it devoured and tore in pieces, trampling what it left under its feet. This beast had ten horns, and as I was looking at it an eleventh came up, at first a little one, yet it tore out three others (and became greater than all, v. 20). This horn had human eyes and mouth, and uttered boastful and insolent words.[1]

The coming of God in judgment (9–12)

I then had a vision of the coming of God as judge. His appearance was that of an aged man,[2] clothed in white, seated on a chariot of fire [3] and surrounded by countless angels.[4] The court sat on thrones prepared for them, and the books of judgment were opened. The eleventh horn was even then uttering his boastful words, on account of which the beast was slain and consumed with fire.[5] His fate was more severe than that of the three who preceded him, for they were left in existence for a time, though without authority.[6]

Then I saw a figure like a man, borne, like a divine being, on clouds to God, and introduced by angels into

[1] The seer could not attribute to a horn the character and deeds he wished to describe, so partly drops the figure and lets us see that the horn is a man The interpretation of this beast is given further on in the chapter.

[2] Cf. Isa. 44 : 6; Ps. 55 : 19. [3] Cf. Ezek. 1 : 4, 13; 10 : 2, 6–7.

[4] Cf. 1 Kings 22 : 19; Ex. 24 : 10; Deut. 33 : 2.

[5] Cf. Isa. 66 : 24.

[6] Their destruction was not involved in that of the fourth, as it was in 2 : 34, 35, 44, 45. Perhaps, however, the meaning is not that the three survived the fourth, but that in the past, when they had been displaced, it had been by a less violent catastrophe.

his presence. And there was given to him absolute rulership over all nations forever.[1]

The coronation of Israel's representative (13–14)

In distress and perplexity at the vision, I approached one of the host of ministering angels and asked him its meaning.[2] He answered, The four beasts are four kingdoms which are to be, but the holy people of God will at last receive the rule and hold it forever.

The general interpretation (15–18)

I asked for more detail concerning the fourth beast and especially the eleventh horn, adding that it seemed larger than the others, and that I had seen it make victorious war against the true Israelites until God's intervention in their favor.[3] The angel explained that the fourth kingdom (the Greek) would differ from those that preceded it in that it would crush out existing states and impose its own new political forms upon conquered peoples. The ten horns, he said, are ten kings.[4] The

Questions and answers as to the fourth beast (19–27)

[1] His kingdom has the characteristics of God's (2 : 44; 4 : 3; 4 : 34; 6 : 26), and is evidently identical with it.

[2] The angel interpreter is a fixed feature in apocalypses. Dan. 8 names Gabriel as his interpreter. Ezek. 40–48 and Zech. 1 : 7–6 : 8 already have such angel guides and instructors.

[3] This feature has no place in the original vision since vv. 8 and 11 speak only of the arrogance and impiety of this king's speech. Some regard verses 21–22 therefore as a later insertion, interrupting the connection of question and answer, but they seem to be required by v. 25.

[4] In this vision the dividing of Alexander's kingdom into four parts is not alluded to, as it is in 8 : 8, 22; 11 : 4. Since the eleventh horn is Antiochus IV, the ten are probably the kings of the Seleucid line. They can be counted as follows: 1. Alexander, 2. Seleucus I, 3. Antiochus I, 4. Antiochus II, 5. Seleucus II, 6. Seleucus III, 7. Antiochus III, 8. Seleucus IV, 9. Heliodorus, 10. Demetrius I. The last three, however, are variously reckoned (see p. 83).

eleventh will gain his place by overthrowing three of his predecessors. He will blaspheme God and persecute God's people, and will plan to stop the observance of the legal ordinances ; and he will even succeed in this for three and a half years.[1] Then will come the judgment and he shall be destroyed, and the kingdom given to the holy people of God, the Jews (that is, the law-abiding Jews), who will rule over all nations for all time.

Effect of the vision (28)

This disclosure of the future troubled me, but I kept it wholly to myself.

4. *Duration of the Temple's Desecration*

Almost the only element of mystery in the second vision (ch. 8) is the prediction of the exact length of time during which the daily sacrifices of the temple shall be omitted (8 : 14). Apart from this we have simple history, with only the thinnest disguise of imagery, and with no disclosures about the heavenly or angelic background of human events.

The estimate of the length of the temple's desecration, 1150 days, is hard to explain. It does not correspond to the three and a half years of 7 : 25 and 12 : 7, with which the 1290 and 1335 days of 12 : 11–12 are more nearly, but not exactly, in agreement. These last numbers are more than three years and a half, and we can imagine that the time was lengthened because of events, first by a half

[1] On this period see pp. 144–46.

month or so, and then by a month and a half more. But 1150 days is less than two months in excess of three years. Now according to First Maccabees the "desolating iniquity" was erected on the fifteenth of Kislev (about December), 168 B. C. The first sacrifice on it was offered on the twenty-fifth. The restoration was accomplished exactly three years after the latter date (1 Mac. 4 : 42–58). But even three years and ten days falls short of 1150 days by a month and a half.[1] It is quite conceivable that this number was added after the rededication. If so it is probably exact. Just 2300 morning and evening offerings had been omitted. In that case First Maccabees and the tradition of an exact three years are mistaken.[2] If on the other hand the number belongs to Daniel then we cannot tell why it does not correspond with the other reckonings of the book.

5. *The Victorious Alexander and the Despotic Antiochus* (8)

Two years later I had another vision. I seemed to be in Susa, the capital of Elam, the residence of the Persian kings. I was by the river Ulai [Eulæus], when I saw on the opposite side (?) of the river a ram with two horns, of which the higher came up last. The ram pushed with irresistible force toward the west and north and south.

The ram, symbol of the Medes and Persians (1–4)

[1] From 60 to 17 days according to the reckoning of the year.

[2] On this possibility see p. 105.

The goat (Greece) and its great horn (Alexander) (5–8)

Then from the west I saw a goat coming over the earth with incredible speed, as if on wings. It had one great horn, and when it came with furious rage against the ram it overcame and destroyed it. But in the midst of its career the great horn was broken, and four horns came up in its place toward the four points of the compass.

The little horn (Antiochus IV) and his impiety (9–12)

Out of one of them came a little horn that grew very fast toward the south and east and toward Palestine. It made war not only against these countries but against their religions, even casting down some of their gods [putting an end to their worship].[1] Its arrogance was so great that it even arose against the supreme God, the God of Israel, stopped the regular daily sacrifice [2] and desecrated his temple, erected the Iniquity [3] [the altar to Zeus] on the altar of burnt offering, and overthrew the true religion. And what it did succeeded.

How long? (13–14)

Then I heard one angel asking another how long this would last—that is, the cessation of the daily sacrifice, the presence of the heathen altar and the desolation of the temple. The answer was, for 1150 days, until 2300 morning and evening sacrifices have been omitted; then shall faith in the temple, shaken by its desecration, be justified by its restoration.

As I tried to understand the vision an angel stood be-

[1] For the thought that the stars represent or are the gods of the heathen, see Deut. 4 : 19; 32 : 8 LXX; Isa. 24 : 21 ff.; En. 80 : 7.

[2] "The continual," Ex. 29 : 42. [3] This depends on a revised text.

fore me and a voice from the river addressed him as Gabriel, and bade him interpret the vision to me. At his approach I fell down in terror, but he said, Know, O man, that the vision concerns the last great crisis in world history. As he spoke, I fell stunned to the ground, but his touch revived me and brought me to my feet; and he explained the disclosures of the vision as to the last stages of history, the final manifestations of the wrath of God, as follows: The ram with two horns signifies the empire of the Medes and Persians.[1] The goat is Greece; the great horn is its first king [Alexander the Great]; and the four horns, the four Greek kingdoms into which his realm was divided after his death.[2] Toward the end of these kingdoms, when transgression—that of the Greeks and Greek-minded Jews—is at its height, a bold and crafty king [Antiochus IV, Epiphanes] shall arise. With great and malign power he will operate against his political antagonists and against the Jewish people. With deceit and in pride he will corrupt many Jews,[3] and even oppose God. But God him-

Gabriel interprets the vision (15–26)

[1] It is noteworthy that the proper names of the nations are here introduced as they are not in chs. 2 and 7, that the Babylonian kingdom is passed by, and that the Median and Persian appear as two horns of one beast. They are connected also in 5:28; 6:8, 12, 15, but distinguished in 5:31; cf. 6:28, and in 9:1; 10:1; 11:1.

[2] Alexander died in 323 B. C. The division was not concluded until 301 B. C. Kassander received Macedonia and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace and Bithynia; Seleucus, Syria, Babylonia and other eastern countries; Ptolemy, Egypt.

[3] See 1 Mac. 1:30, 43. Notice the progress toward greater detail about Antiochus, which reaches its end in ch. 11.

self, and not man, shall smite him. The polluted sanctuary will in truth be restored in 1150 days. All this, however, concerns a remote future.[1] You are therefore to keep the vision secret.

Effects of the vision (27)

At this I fainted and fell ill, and was kept from my duties at court for a few days; and still in spite of the angel's interpretation I did not understand the vision (or the meaning of the delay and secrecy?).

6. *The Seventy Weeks of Years*

An interpretation of prophecy

The peculiarity of chapter 9 is that the vision consists in the interpretation of an Old Testament passage. The seer is puzzled by the prediction of Jeremiah (25 : 11 f.; 29 : 10) that the exile and the desolation of Jerusalem would last only seventy years, whereas the post-exilic period had been hardly better than a prolongation of Israel's dispersion and subjection to foreigners, and now under Antiochus IV the situation of the Jews was more trying and critical than ever, and the state of the temple more deplorable than even when it was in ruins. He prays for a right understanding of the prediction and feels that if he could interpret it he would have not only the explanation of the long continuance of Israel's troubles, but an assurance of the near approach of the end.

The question of the origin and first meaning of the seventy years is a difficult one. If, as the majority of critics

[1] That is, of course, from the assumed standpoint of the Exile.

still hold, Jeremiah is its author, it was probably not his purpose to foretell the exact length of the exile, but rather, in opposition to the bright hopes of the people, encouraged by such prophets as Hananiah (Jer. 28 : 1–5), to affirm his conviction that the exile would last a long time, not two years, but two generations. Those who went away would not come back, but only their descendants. Seventy years is a round number for a long period. It is a human lifetime. In Isaiah 23 : 15 ff., Tyre's desolation is to last seventy years, "like the days of one king," which may mean the lifetime of one king, or the length of one dynasty.

The seventy years in Jeremiah

As a matter of fact the exile was long, as Jeremiah foretold, though not precisely as long as he expected. From 597 B. C. to 537 B. C. is sixty years, and from 586 B. C. to 537 B. C. is forty-nine years. It is possible that Jeremiah's prediction stimulated the Jews to undertake the rebuilding of the temple so as to finish it just seventy years after its destruction (586–516 B. C.). This is confirmed by Zechariah, a prophet of the rebuilding of the temple, who refers to seventy years as the time of God's indignation against Israel (1 : 12 ; 7 : 5). It was the belief of later Judaism that Jeremiah's prediction had been literally fulfilled (2 Chron. 36 : 21–22 ; Ezra 1 : 1).

What now was the interpretation which Daniel hears from Gabriel? Many divergent views have been propounded. The most probable one may be briefly stated as follows :

The seventy years reinterpreted

The seventy years are to be reckoned as seventy weeks[1] of years, that is as 490 years. This is the appointed time of Israel's desolation. It is divided into three main periods of 49, 434 and 7 years. The length of the Exile is 49 years (v. 25[a]), from the time of Jeremiah's prediction, which could be identified in a general way with the beginning of the Exile itself, either to the time of the edict of Cyrus permitting the return, or to the time when a high-priest, Joshua, again stood at the head of the community; that is, in either case, from about 586 to 537 or 536 B.C. This first period, then, was correctly given, and its forty-nine years may in part have suggested the week-year scheme. The last period of seven years extends from the time of the assassination of the high-priest, Onias III, or that of the end of the legitimate high-priesthood with the appointment of Menelaus, a Benjaminite (in either case the year 171 B. C.), to the still future restoration of the temple and coming of the Messianic age. This period is divided into halves by the desecration of the temple by Antiochus. According to First Maccabees, this took place in December, 168 B.C. The writer had already experienced this event, and if it took place in fact just about three and a half years after the cutting off of the legitimate high-priesthood, then these two events, the most terrible that had happened to the Jews since the Exile, would themselves furnish a clew to the week-year theory,

The first period, forty-nine years

The last period, seven years

The number three and one-half

[1] The word weeks as here written (9 : 24) has the same letters as the word seventy, though it is pronounced differently.

and would make the suggestion natural that one more half week remained, and that then the coming of God would make a final end of the rule of evil.

The fact that the temple was rededicated about three years after its violation, and that Antiochus died, perhaps about the same time or a half year later, must have been regarded as a remarkable vindication of the message of the book, even though not an exact fulfilment. Of course, on the other hand, the death of Antiochus did not bring with it the end of the Greek empire and the beginning of the kingdom of Israel. We seem to have evidence of efforts to adjust the prediction more exactly to events, first in the shorter period, 1150 days, given in 8 : 14, and then in the lengthening of it to the 1290 days of 12 : 11, and the 1335 of 12 : 12.[1]

Some think that the number $3\frac{1}{2}$ had already, long before Daniel, come to stand for the length of the reign of evil, or of its last and highest manifestations,[2] but no plausible explanation of it has been given. If historical events suggested it, as we have indicated, theory might confirm it. It could be said that seven being the number of perfec-

[1] 1290 is just 43 months of 30 days. It could be therefore the longest possible $3\frac{1}{4}$ years, including the addition of an intercalary month. Cr. p. 138 f.

[2] Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp 266–70, 390–91) tries to make $3\frac{1}{4}$ months the length of the conflict of the god of light with darkness, from the winter solstice till the prevalence of light in the spring equinox. But he does not succeed in accounting for the extra half month. Furthermore, evil dominates during the whole seven years according to Daniel

tion, three and a half, as the length of the reign of evil, would mean that it would not run its full course, but would be cut off in the midst. This was not, however, the idea of Daniel, for Antiochus oppresses the Jews and violates their religious customs for seven years, and it is the last half of the seven, not the first, that brings his abominations to a climax.

The middle period, 434 years

Now between the seven weeks of exile (586–537–6 B. C.), and the one week of the persecutions of Antiochus (171–164 B. C.), is a period in fact of about 366 years. Of this the writer is obliged, in order to carry through his interpretation of Jeremiah's seventy weeks, to make sixty-two weeks of years, 434 years, or from sixty-seven to sixty-eight too many. This discrepancy has led many scholars to attempt some other explanation of the first or of the last period, but none has been proposed that fits so well. It is therefore probable that the writer did not know exactly the length of the post-exilic period, but that according to his estimate it was not far from the sixty-two weeks required by his theory. There is no great difficulty in this supposition, since no means were then at hand for constructing an accurate chronology of the period, and as a matter of fact just such an error as this is made by Josephus, who reckons the time from the return out of exile to several events of the Maccabean period and of his own time at from thirty to sixty years too long, and Demetrius, not far from Daniel's age (about 200 B. C.), reckons the time

from the fall of Israel to Ptolemy IV (722 B. C.–222 B. C.) as 573 years, making almost the same excess as Daniel.

7. *The Explanation of Jeremiah's Seventy Years* (9)

Daniel's perplexity as to Jer. 25 : 11–12; 29 : 10 (1–3)

In the first year of Darius I marked in the Scriptures the number of years which Jeremiah revealed as the length of the desolation of Jerusalem, namely seventy years. Since this time had long past, and the Jews were still suffering at the hands of the heathen, and the temple was desolated anew, I could not understand the prediction, and earnestly prayed for light upon its meaning.

His prayer (4–19)

My prayer [1] was a confession that our Jewish people had fully deserved the lengthening of our distress, and an earnest petition that it might now come to an end, not for our desert, but for the honor of God's own name.

Gabriel comes as an interpreter (20–23)

While I was praying Gabriel came near to me, at the time of the evening offering, and said that he had been sent at the very beginning of my prayer, to bring me, as one loved of God, the interpretation of the passage that troubled me.

It is, he said, not seventy years, but seventy weeks of

[1] The prayer should be about the meaning of Jeremiah, and the answer does concern simply this. Hence it may be that this prayer of general confession and supplication on behalf of God's people is a later addition, like the apocryphal Prayer of Azarius and Song of the Three Children inserted at 3 : 21. Notice that v. 4a repeats v. 3, and that v. 20 repeats v. 21, whereas v. 21 follows v. 3 well; also that "Jehovah" is used here only, with the exception of v. 2, where it may be due to the influence of the later passage or of the Old Testament citation.

His interpretation (24–27)

years, that Israel and Jerusalem were destined to suffer for their sins, and only after the 490 years are ended will the prophetic vision be confirmed, the sins of Israel atoned for, and the Messianic age introduced with the reconsecration of the polluted temple. You may recognize just how near the end is by observing the divisions into which the seventy times seven years fall. Seven weeks, forty-nine years, passed from the time of Jeremiah's oracle to the rise of an anointed prince[1] (Cyrus, or more probably Joshua, the first high-priest of the new temple).[2]

The second period, that of the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the straitened times that followed, is sixty-two weeks, 434 years. At the end of this period an anointed (priest) shall be cut off (or the succession of legitimate high-priests shall be broken off), and shall have no (successor?).[3] Then

[1] Jer. 25 : 11, 12 was spoken in 605 or 604 B. C. (25 : 1), and 29 : 10 in 590 B. C. Perhaps the author meant rather the beginning of the Exile itself, 586 B. C.

[2] Cyrus is called Jehovah's Anointed in Isaiah 45 : 1. It is more probable, however, that Joshua, the anointed high priest of the new temple, is meant, for in 9 : 26 the word is used of the high priest. Cf. Lev. 4 : 3, 5, 16 ; 6 : 22.

[3] One of the guesses made to fill up an incomplete sentence, "He shall have no——." Perhaps "he shall have naught," no helper, no name. Some prefer, "Without judicial sentence" or "without guilt." With the death of Onias III (2 Mac. 4 : 34) or with the appointment of Menelaus (2 Mac. 4 : 23 ff.) in 171 B. C., the direct line of priests was broken off (p. 27 f.). As a matter of fact the end was final, for the Maccabean rulers must needs assume the high-priesthood, though they were not in the line, and when they came to an end, with the Roman period, the office of high priest came to be a matter of Herodian or Roman appointment.

shall the Greeks and their king, Antiochus, lay waste Jerusalem and the temple, and the final period shall be one of desolation and war. Antiochus shall gain the co-operation of many Jews in his effort to root out the Jewish religion [1] for a week, that is, seven years; and for the second half of this period the temple sacrifices shall cease altogether, and in their place that astounding abomination, an altar to Zeus, shall be set up, to remain until judgment falls upon the sacrilegious kingdom.

8. *History in the Form of Vision*

Character of the last vision of Daniel as history

The last vision of Daniel (chs. 10–12) consists simply in the sight of the angel Gabriel, and the hearing of his words. There is no vision of God or of symbolic figures representing historical nations, persons, or events. Gabriel does indeed disclose some significant happenings in the angel world with which the fortunes of Israel are intimately connected, but all he tells about angelic and human history, past and future, is in literal language, not in figure. There is indeed a certain air of mystery which belongs to the apocalypse, and without which the telling of history in the form of prediction would be too transparent. Yet this

[1] The passage is difficult and may need revision. The word covenant in Daniel elsewhere means religion, or religious practices (11 : 22, 28, 30, 32), and here the original text may have meant that many should be without religion for seven years, or that religious rites would cease for that time. The temple rites under Menelaus, from 171 B. C. on, would be illegal and void, and after December, 168 B. C., even these rites would cease.

impression of mystery is produced chiefly by a suppression of the names of the personal actors in the scene. The names of the nations are in part used, though here also a paraphrase often takes their place. The Ptolemies are the kings of the south, the Seleucids the kings of the north. The account of the history of these two divisions of Alexander's empire is given in detail, and we are able at almost every point to supply names and dates with certainty. As the writer is a contemporary of Antiochus IV it is natural that his account should be fullest at this point. In fact his history of Antiochus is not only confirmed by First and Second Maccabees and Polybius, but enables us to supplement these sources, and is an important original document of the period.

As pseudonymous vision

Yet though this vision contains almost undisguised history, its visionary character is especially emphasized. The long period of fasting and prayer which led to it, and the overwhelming impression it made on the seer are elaborately described. The pseudepigraphic character of this vision cannot be questioned, and the conscious art with which this strange literary device is here carried through it is impossible to deny. It professes to be a story of far future events, told to the seer during the reign of Cyrus, by Gabriel, and the fact that the story has remained so long unknown is explained as due to the hiding and sealing of the book, by order of the revealing angel, until the end came near (10 : 14 ; 12 : 4, 5–13). It is hard to doubt that

this device was used to gain for the book greater respect and credence in the period of its actual publication.

Its date

The late date of the writing is unmistakably revealed by the fact that there are probably errors, certainly striking omissions and abbreviations, in the early part of the history, and that the writer's knowledge and interest increase as the reign of Antiochus IV is approached, and culminate in that reign. At a certain easily recognizable point, however, namely at 11 : 40, the agreement of the angel's disclosures with known history ceases, and we have an account of a third and triumphant invasion of Egypt by Antiochus, and his death in Palestine on his return, which is not in accordance with the facts. At that point evidently the form of prediction passes over into prediction proper, and that is of course the point at which the writer himself stands.

The angelic background of human history

The supernatural element in the history itself appears in a highly developed form, though it makes only an incidental part of Gabriel's communications. In a manner more elaborate than elsewhere in the Old Testament the conception is worked out that conflicts of angels underlie and explain and condition the conflicts of nations. The post-exilic history is revealed as being, behind its human and earthly surface, a conflict of Gabriel and Michael, Israel's prince, first with the angel of Persia, and then with the angel of Greece. The greatness of Daniel's revelation is magnified by the representation that it is not a mere angel

of revelation who visits Daniel and tells him God's purposes, but that the chief combatant in those heavenly wars leaves his toils for a while and hastens to Daniel in answer to his prayer (10 : 12–13, 20–11 : 1). That this angel, though here unnamed, is Gabriel, is a natural inference from the identity of his office with that ascribed to Gabriel in 8 : 16 ff., 9 : 21 ff. But if so, then Gabriel is more than the angel of revelation, the spirit of prophecy. He appears to be the chief antagonist in God's cause against the angels of heathen powers. Michael, he says, helped him in his conflicts with the princes of Persia and Greece, and was the only one on his side. His position, therefore, seems to be higher than Michael's, who was one of the nation-princes among others, though as Israel's prince he was superior to the rest. According to Enoch 40, Gabriel's task is intercession, and he "is set over all the powers." [1]

Antiochus as Antichrist

Another important idea, for which the earlier visions have prepared us, is that the power of evil in the world comes to its height, and to its consummate manifestation in an individual man. The description of Antiochus, especially in 11 : 36 ff., has something demoniacal about it. It is almost cited by Paul in Second Thessalonians 2 : 4, in describing the coming "man of sin." In fact, in the figure of Antichrist, the human representative of Satan and counter-

[1] Had he perhaps taken on the qualities of the old "angel of Jehovah," for which his name "Man of God," or "Hero of God," would fit him?

part of the Christ becomes a really superhuman being. It is probable that this figure was not first fashioned by Christians as the antithesis of Christ, but was developed in Jewish eschatology, and that its germ is to be found in Daniel's description of Antiochus. This demonizing of Antiochus was a natural result of his deification of himself, taken in connection with his almost insane capriciousness of nature and his violence and rage against the Jews. Nero, with a somewhat similar character, took up the same rôle in later eschatology, Jewish and Christian.

The doctrine of resurrection

Another significant feature of the vision is the conception of resurrection, which appears here for the first time in Jewish writings in definite form, as if it were an established doctrine.[1] In regard to this we notice that it is not a universal resurrection that is expected, and that (unlike Isa. 26 : 19 ; compare v. 14) it is not the righteous only who are to rise. "Many" will rise, some to shame, and some to eternal life, while for the author's inner circle of the wise there awaits an exceptional star-like glory. Apparently resurrection is only for the most ill-deserving on the one side, and the best-deserving, the small circle of law-abiding Jews, on the other ; perhaps the Hellenizing apostates of the immediate past, or perhaps the persecutors of Judaism in all ages, and the faithful kernel, especially

[1] It is found in Isa. 26 : 19, in vaguer form. The date of the section (chs. 24–27) is late, but whether earlier or later than Daniel is not certain.

those who have suffered martyrdom.[1] It is most noteworthy that one who has attained the great faith in rewards and punishments after death should give it still so subordinate a place in his predictions. It is still the nation and its fortunes that form the centre of his interest, as of the prophets before him. The individual hope could not indeed displace the national so long as it was only a part of it and depended wholly upon it. It is not heavenly blessedness after death for which the writer hopes, but first of all and last of all the coming of Israel to its destined kingship. But he has the hope that those who have died in fidelity to Israel's faith and law will rise to share Israel's glory, to rejoice in it and to add to it. Yet though subordinate to the national hope, and only a part of it, the rise of the individual hope is immensely significant. It is persecution and martyrdom that brings this faith, which may have been more or less current before, to the front, and gives it a recognized and significant place in the Jewish religion. What courage it must have given in that great emergency to those who if they remained true to their convictions must fall by the sword and by flame!

This hope for the individual, having once established itself in the inner religious circle of Judaism, could not but grow to ever-increasing importance. The growth was,

[1] If in 12 : 13 it is said that the Daniel of the Exile is to rise from the grave, then we may suppose the resurrection to include the great heroes of the Israelitish religion, however long they may have been resting, waiting for the end.

indeed, slow, but the place of the belief in resurrection as a fixed dogma of Pharisaism in the time of Christ marks its outcome, and is one of the most important steps forward that Judaism took in the interval between the Old Testament and the New.

9. *An Angel's Interpretation of History and its Consummation* (10–12)

Vision of an angel (1–6)

In the third year of Cyrus, in Daniel's old age,[1] he had a true vision concerning a great suffering. After three weeks of fasting, as I was by the river Tigris, I saw an angel dressed in linen, glorious and resplendent in appearance, like gold and jewels and fire,[2] after the likeness of the angel that Ezekiel saw (Ezek. 9 : 2), and of his vision of the chariot of God and its fiery bearers (Ezek. 1, 10).

Effect of the vision upon Daniel (7–11)

This vision was not seen by those about me, though a sense of dread came over them and they fled away. On me its effect was the loss of all strength, though not of consciousness. I fell as if in a heavy sleep with my face to the ground, but the hand of the angel raised me up on my hands and knees, and at his encouraging word, still trembling, I arose.

Then he said, Do not fear, for I come in answer to your prayer to tell you of the future. I should indeed have

[1] The third year of Cyrus would be about 70 years after the coming of Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar's court.

[2] The angel is probably Gabriel, cf. 8 : 16 ff. ; 9 : 21 ff.

The angel explains his delay (12–14)

come three weeks ago at the very beginning of your prayer, if I had not been detained during all that time by a conflict with the angel-prince of Persia. But Michael came to help me, and I was thus enabled to come to you to reveal the final fortunes of your people.

Further conversation of Daniel and the angel (10 : 15–11 : 1)

I could not answer this glorious being until another angel, of more human appearance,[1] touched my mouth. Then I could only say, in apology for my silence, O my lord, the vision has seized upon me like a woman's travail and made me powerless. How can such a one as I speak to such as you? With this the power to speak left me again. I was again strengthened by a divine touch, and by Gabriel's heartening words, and enabled to ask for his message. He said, I have come, as you know, to tell you the future as it is written in the book of God's purposes; but I must be brief, for I must return to the conflict with the angel of Persia, which I have just left unfinished, and after that I shall contend with the angel of Greece.[2] In these conflicts Michael, the prince of Israel, is the only one who helps me. I for my part helped him in the national crisis when the Median succeeded the Babylonian world empire.[3]

[1] Gabriel, too, is "a man," but not like men in his appearance (10 : 5–6).

[2] There is a long interval between Cyrus (10 : 1) and Alexander, but perhaps the writer means that there is an angelic warfare during the whole of the Persian period and then during the Greek rule that followed it.

[3] This which is our reading of 11 : 1 is hard to interpret, for the suggestion that it was through Michael's efforts, aided by Gabriel, that the Median and

The conquest of Persia by Alexander (11 : 2–4)

Now as to the future, this is to be its course : There will be three more kings of Persia, that is, four in all.[1] The fourth, the richest of all [Xerxes I], shall make a great expedition against Greece. But a mighty Greek conqueror shall arise [Alexander the Great], whose kingdom, however, shall not remain in its greatness, nor be bequeathed to his sons, but shall be divided into four parts[2] under four of his generals.[3]

The king of Egypt [Ptolemy I, 305–285 B. C.] shall be strong, but not so strong as the king of Syria [Seleucus I, 312–280 B. C.], who was once his subordinate, but whose

Persian kingdoms were made relatively friendly to the Jews is venturesome. Perhaps the text is corrupt. Marti reads it in the following order : vv. 20, 21^b; 11 : 1^b ("who stood up to help and protect me"), 21^a. He omits 11 : 1^a, as wrongly inserted after the analogy of 7 : 1; 8 : 1; 9 : 1; 10 : 1. Cf. Bevan. The LXX and Theodotion read "Cyrus" for "Darius the Mede."

[1] In Ezra 4 : 5–7 four Persian kings are named : Cyrus (558–529 B. C.), Darius I (521–486 B. C.), Xerxes I (485–465 B. C.), Artaxerxes I (464–424 B. C.). These four names are all that the Old Testament knows ; though the Darius of Neh. 12 : 22 is probably Darius III. The writer of Daniel seems here to affirm that there were only four in all, just as in 7 : 6 the Persian beast has four heads ; and evidently the fourth is Xerxes I, who made the expedition against Greece, ending in defeat at Salamis in 480 B. C. The next verse passes immediately to Alexander's conquest of Persia against Darius III, in 333 B. C. ; and the impression is certainly given that the king that invades Greece is the one that Alexander overthrows. It is, to be sure, difficult to suppose such an error in a writer who makes too long, not too short, a reckoning of the period of Persian and Greek dominion (9 : 25, 26).

[2] See note on 8 : 22.

[3] The history of the two of these parts of Alexander's kingdom with which Palestine had to do, Egypt and Syria, follows.

Relations of the early Ptolemies and Seleucids (5–9)

rule shall be greater than his. Some years later [248 B. C.] Egypt and Syria shall be brought into alliance by the marriage of the Syrian king [Antiochus II, 267–247 B. C.] to the daughter of the king of Egypt [Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II, 285–247 B. C.]. But this effort to make peace between the two kingdoms shall come to a disastrous end in the death of the wife and her adherents and of her father the king of Egypt.[1] Her brother, however [Ptolemy III, 247–221 B. C.], shall succeed to the kingdom of Egypt, and shall take vengeance upon the Syrian king [Seleucus II, 246–226 B. C.]. He shall defeat him, and shall enter the fortress of Seleucus and carry away idols and golden and silver vessels as spoils. A retaliatory effort of Seleucus against Egypt shall fail [240 B. C.].[2]

Antiochus III the Great (10–19)

His son,[3] on the contrary, shall be a mighty and successful warrior, and shall proceed with a great force against Cœle-Syria and Palestine [219–218 B. C.]. Then he shall return to his fortress,[4] and shall undertake a campaign against Egypt [217 B. C.]. The king of Egypt [Ptolemy IV] shall come against him and gain a great victory [at

[1] Antiochus II was poisoned by his former wife, and Berenice and her child and adherents were murdered (247 B. C.). Ptolemy II also died in the same year.

[2] Ptolemy III in fact shook the Syrian kingdom to its foundations.

[3] At this point the writer passes over Seleucus III, 226–222 B. C., unless we are to read here, "his sons." But as only one son, Antiochus III, went against Egypt, we should probably read with the LXX, "his son."

[4] Gaza (Driver), or Raphia (Marti).

Raphia in 217 B. C.], slaying multitudes. But though elated at his success he shall not show himself a man of strength by following up his victory. Some years later Antiochus shall return, after notable victories in the East, with a greater army than before against the boy king [Ptolemy V, 204 B. C.]. In this assault Antiochus shall be helped by allies [Philip of Macedon and some insurgents in Egypt itself]. Moreover some among the Jews, a party of "the violent," shall favor Antiochus and seek to bring Palestine under Syrian in place of Egyptian rule, thus working indeed for the fulfilment of prophecy—whi h requires the subjection of the Jews to the terrible son of Antiochus —but bringing upon themselves destruction.[1] Then Antiochus shall come and first besiege and take Sidon, where the Egyptian force has taken refuge, and then utterly break Egyptian power in Syria [198 B. C.]. With Palestine wholly in his power he will, from that vantage ground threaten Egypt with destruction.[2] He will plan its complete subjugation and hope to accomplish this by an agreement according to which he gives his daughter [Cleopatra] to Ptolemy in marriage,[3] with the object of

[1] This is one interpretation of v. 14 f. Perhaps, however, the allusion is to the vain effort of some zealot Jews to secure national independence, and so bring about the fulfilment of Messianic prophecy (Bevan).

[2] At this point Syrian rule over Palestine completely and finally displaces that of Egypt. This was settled by Antiochus's victory over the Egyptian general Scopas at Panium. Some put the date earlier, about 200 B. C.

[3] They were not married until 193 B. C.

destroying the Egyptian kingdom. But this object shall fail. After this [from 197 B. C. on] he shall go against the coast-lands [of Asia Minor], most of whose cities shall submit to him; but the Roman general, Lucius Scipio, shall bring overwhelming defeat upon him in a great battle [that of Magnesia, in 190 B. C.], and compel him to relinquish all his gains [in Asia Minor and Europe] and make peace on most humiliating terms. Retiring to the fortresses of his own land he shall there meet a violent end.[1]

The reign of Seleucus IV, Philopator (20)

He shall be succeeded by his son [Seleucus IV, 187–175 B. C.], whose officer shall exact tribute of the Jews,[2] but this king shall perish shortly, not in open conflict but by a plot.[3]

The reign of Antiochus IV, Epiphanes (21–45). His character and early deeds (21–24)

The next king will be, not the son and heir of Seleucus [Demetrius, who was a prisoner in Rome], but his brother, a despicable man who gains the throne by intrigue and address [Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, 175–164 B. C.].[4] Opposition shall vanish before him. He shall even depose the Jewish high-priest [Onias III, in 174 B. C.]. When he makes a league with anyone he shall at once scheme to

[1] He was killed in 187 B. C. by the people of Elymais, whose temple of Bel he robbed, to help pay the tribute demanded by Rome.

[2] He had to pay 1000 talents a year to the Romans for nine years. According to 2 Mac. 3 : 1–40, he attempted to rob the temple. Some, however, think the verse means that with Seleucus the royal dignity declined.

[3] At the hand of his minister, Heliodorus. Our author may have thought Antiochus IV the instigator of the murder (7 : 8, 24).

[4] With what follows the reader should compare the account of Antiochus on pp. 82–97.

get the better of his ally. By his power of deception and intrigue he shall gain great advantages, though his forces be small. He shall know how to acquire power and get the better of opponents by trickery, acting more dishonorably than his predecessors. He shall be lavish with gifts and bribes, and shall scheme against the fortresses of his enemies for a fixed time.[1]

His first campaign against Egypt (25–28)

He shall make a great expedition against Egypt [about 169 B. C.].[2] The Egyptian king [his nephew, Ptolemy VI, Philometor] shall resist him with a powerful army, but shall not succeed because of treachery. Some of his own court shall betray him, and his army shall be swept away. Then these two kings [Antiochus and Ptolemy] shall profess friendship, but insincerely, since each shall be plotting against the other.[3] Their plans however shall not come to effect, for the end of the dealings of Antiochus with Egypt—its subjection to him, predicted in verse 43—shall not come for a definite period longer. Then Antiochus shall return to Syria, and shall come into Palestine and enter and plunder the temple.[4]

After a time he shall return into Egypt, but without the

[1] It is especially in his efforts to gain control of Egypt that these methods and qualities are seen. About this details follow (*vv.* 25 ff.; cf. 1 Mac. 1 : 16 ff.).

[2] See 1 Mac. 1 : 17–19.

[3] Though Antiochus posed as defender of the title of Ptolemy Philometor, his real purpose was to get possession of Egypt for himself.

[4] See 1 Mac. 1 : 20–28 and 2 Mac. 5 : 11–21.

The second Egyptian expedition and the persecution of the Jews (29–35)

success he had before; for his plans shall be frustrated by the intervention of the Romans.[1] He shall therefore return to his own kingdom, and shall vent his anger against the Jews, listening to the counsels of Jewish apostates, and using them for his own ends.[2] With an armed force he shall proceed against the temple, breaking down its defences. He shall put an end to the daily burnt offerings and shall set up on the altar the appalling pollution of an altar to Zeus.[3] He shall tempt to apostasy those who are ready to deny their religion, but the loyal and true shall be steadfast and strong. Members of the religious party shall help many of the people to religious fidelity,[4] though severe persecutions shall reward them for a time.[5] In their extremity the pious will be helped a little [by the early, less decisive, victories of Judas Maccabeus].[6] But many shall be drawn into this patriotic and religious movement by selfish fear or hope. So that martyrdom will be required to effect the needed purification and sifting. This persecution should

[1] Immediately after the fall of the Macedonian kingdom at their hands, the Romans sent Popilius Lænas to demand Antiochus's instant withdrawal from Egypt, 168 B. C.

[2] Such as are described in 1 Mac. 1 : 11–15.

[3] See 1 Mac. 1 : 29–64; 2 Mac. 6 : 1–11.

[4] It is evident that the party to which our writer belonged engaged in an aggressive campaign of teaching and admonition for the sake of holding the people to fidelity to the ancestral religion. The nature of their teaching is revealed in part by our book itself. The teachers were often martyrs, but they could look forward to a place of peculiar glory in the world to come (12 : 3).

[5] See 1 Mac. 1 : 57; 2 : 38; 3 : 41; 5 : 13. [6] See 1 Mac. 2 : 42–48.

not, therefore, bring despair, for it is a needed discipline, and moreover its duration is fixed by divine decree.

The arrogance and impiety of Antiochus (36–39)

Antiochus will show himself in every way to be the typical impious king. He will be lifted up in pride, as if he were above the very gods,[1] and shall speak against God himself; yet he shall prosper, but only for the appointed time, after which judgment will come. He shall not even hold to his ancestral religion, but shall pay honors to foreign gods.[2] He shall not honor Tammuz (Adonis), the Syrian god, over whose death the women weep.[3] He shall not truly honor any god, but shall set himself above them all. But he shall give special official recognition to the god of fortresses [Jupiter Capitolinus?], erecting to him a splendid temple in Antioch, and dedicating to him precious gifts. He shall put in charge of his fortresses the worshippers of foreign gods.[4] He shall greatly honor and reward those who flatter him, and bribery and corruption shall prevail.

The end of the reign of Antiochus shall be as follows:[5]

[1] Referring to the title he assumed, Theos Epiphanes, God manifest, and to the stress he put on the emperor cult (see p. 88 f.).

[2] On his coins Zeus displaces Apollo, who stands on coins of his predecessors. But perhaps such a policy as 1 Mac. 1 : 41–42 describes gave the impression that he had no respect for ancient religions.

[3] See Ezek. 8 : 14.

[4] Referring to the foreign soldiers in Palestinian strongholds.

[5] Here the writer passes from history to actual prediction. He has reached the point where he himself stands. Thus far his account of Antiochus answers to what we know from other sources, especially 1 and 2 Mac. and Polybius. What follows does not correspond with fact.

The final glory and end of Antiochus (40–45)

Ptolemy shall attack him and be overwhelmed by the powerful resistance of Antiochus, who shall then proceed on a career of conquest greater than before. He shall come again into Palestine, bringing destruction upon many, and shall subject surrounding peoples, all except Edom and Moab and Amnon.[1] In his victorious progress Egypt shall not this time escape, but shall fall into his hands together with the Libyans and the Ethiopians. But tidings from the northeast shall lead him to return thither in great rage.[2] But while he is encamping between Jerusalem and the Mediterranean, he shall suddenly die with none to help.[3]

The lot of righteous Jews during the last times (12 : 1)

Then the angel Michael, the prince of Israel, will champion his people during the unexampled hardships they must still meet. These trials shall indeed be greater than any other people was ever called on to endure, but all whom God has approved shall be saved.[4] Many of the dead also

[1] Edom and Moab helped Antiochus against the Jews (1 Mac. 4 : 61; 5 : 1–8).

[2] Bevan suggests that the tidings may be the recovery of Jerusalem and the temple by the Jews, which our writer expected after 3½ years.

[3] The prophets expected that God would smite the last great foe of Israel within sight of Jerusalem (Ezek. 39 : 4; Joel 3 : 2, 12 f.; Zech. 14 : 2; Isa. 10 : 33 f.; 14 : 25; 17 : 12–14; 30 : 27–33; 31 : 5, 8, 9). On the actual death of Antiochus see p. 86.

[4] The end does not come immediately with the death of Antiochus. There is still a period of trial, even greater than before. Perhaps the writer thinks of an invasion of remote and dreadful warriors such as Ezekiel predicted (chs. 38–39). No doubt fuller traditions were current in regard both to this supreme trouble and also to the task of Michael in connection with it, so that these brief allusions would be understood.

shall arise to receive fitting rewards and punishments in the Messianic age, life for some, abhorrence for others.[1] The resurrection (12 : 2)

The party of the pious, doers and teachers of the law, who bore effectual witness to the truth and persuaded many others to withstand the temptation to apostasy, shall be rewarded with a peculiar and unearthly glory. The special reward of the teachers (Chasidim) (12 : 3)

Gabriel then charged me to close and seal the book recording these visions until the predicted end should draw near.[2] Then many shall eagerly read the book, and it shall serve that end of instruction to which the teachers shall devote themselves.[3] The book must be hidden (12 : 4)

Then I saw two other angels on each side of the river. One of them asked Gabriel how long the calamities described would last ; and he, lifting both hands to heaven, swore that it would be for three and a half years (as in 7 : 25). When the persecution of the Jews is complete, the consummation shall come.[4] Concluding attestations by angels of the truth of the vision, and of the time of the end (5–7)

I could not understand this, and asked again about the end. But the angel bade me ask no more questions since my visions concerned a remote future, and could not be understood until the time approached. When that time Final answers to Daniel's questions (8–13)

[1] Such as Isa. 66 : 24 describes.

[2] The beginnings of this idea are to be seen in Isa. 8 : 26 ; 30 : 8. In the apocalypses it is a necessary part of the pseudonymous form.

[3] The meaning may, however, be that the interval between the writing and the reading of the book shall be a period of distraction and calamities.

[4] Or, when the persecutor, Antiochus, dies, the sufferings of Israel will cease.

comes men shall be divided according to their character. The trials shall only perfect the good, while the wicked shall increase in wickedness, not knowing the divine meaning of these events, which the present book discloses, and the party of the wise shall understand. From the time when Antiochus shall stop the daily offerings and erect the altar to Zeus there will be a period of 1290 days. The full consummation will follow forty-five days later.[1] But thou, Daniel, must wait in thy grave to rise again at the end.

[1] Twelve hundred and ninety days is the longest possible estimate of three years and a half, namely, by adding an intercalary month, forty-three months of thirty days. What happens after that interval is not said, nor do we know what the special blessedness is that follows a month and a half later. Some think vv. 11–12 an addition to the original book, but if so they must have been added very early, before the period named had elapsed. If three years and a half had passed and the consummation had not yet come a reader of the book, or more probably the writer himself, could have lengthened out the period in this way.

THE BOOK OF REVELATION

THE BOOK OF REVELATION

I

INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK OF REVELATION

1. *The Book as an Apocalypse*

Is the book an apocalypse or a prophecy?

Does the New Testament apocalypse belong to the class of apocalyptical literature? The Greek word "apocalypse" of which "revelation" is the Latin equivalent, is the first word of our book, and in the earliest lists and manuscripts it is called "The Apocalypse of John." It is from this use that the word became the current Christian title of the books which Jews probably called either *apocrypha*, or *visions*. The use of the new title is itself a proof that the relationship of the Christian to the Jewish books was early recognized. The writer, however, calls himself a prophet (22 : 9) and his book a prophecy (1 : 3 ; 22 : 7, 10, 18, 19). Perhaps his own title would have been, The Words (or Book) of the Prophecy of John. The writer may be regarded as a later representative of the class of Christian prophets whom Paul puts second in rank only to apostles in the early church (1 Cor. 12 : 28 ; 14 : 1–40 ; Eph. 4 : 11 ; 2 : 20). It is not certain, however, from Paul's de-

scription, that these prophets spoke only of the mysteries of the future. They may have uttered such rhapsodies as First Corinthians 13 or Romans 8 : 35–39, no less than such eschatological disclosures as First Corinthians 15, or Second Thessalonians 2 : 1–12.

Close relationship to Jewish apocalypses

Does Revelation then belong to the class of Jewish apocalypses, or is it a wholly new creation of the new order of Christian prophets? A little reflection will make it clear that the book is certainly an apocalypse, even though there is something new in it that may be ascribed to the new Christian spirit. Like Daniel, the Book of Revelation was written at a time when the true religion of the writer and his circle was threatened both by the allurements and by the violence of the ruling heathen power. It aims to establish wavering faith, to warn apostates, and especially to encourage believers to resist foreign influences and to endure trial even to death, in view of the speedy coming of God as judge and saviour. Like Daniel, it is a revelation of the meaning and end of the history of the world, and not chiefly of the destiny of souls after death.

Many other features show its close relationship to Jewish apocalypses. Thus our book uses highly wrought and fantastic imagery, derived in large part from the Old Testament, but also from various apocalyptical traditions of more or less foreign origin, more or less freely adapted to the present purpose. Again, it constantly uses the

vision form of revelation, with angelic interpreters. It explains the origin and present excess of evil as due to angelic powers and their conflicts, and regards the Roman empire as embodying the chief spirit of evil, or as his chief agent in the world. But still further its whole outline of the future, its philosophy of history and its eschatological doctrines, are in the closest way parallel to those of the Jewish apocalypses. To be sure, the identification of the Messiah who is to come as judge with Jesus involves some changes in the Jewish conception, though far less than one would expect. It is true, also, that the seven letters are a unique feature of the Christian book, distinguishing it from Jewish apocalypses and revealing a different spirit. But these differences are not such as to justify us in separating it from the class, and departing from the principles of interpretation which have proved correct in the case of Daniel and its successors.

Inferences from its apocalyptical character

It is therefore to be assumed that the predictions of the book relate to the immediate and not to the remote future, as the writer most explicitly affirms (1 : 1, 3; 22 : 10–12). We should expect to find that the visions of the book have to do with present political and social conditions, with the dangers of Christian churches due to their actual historical situation. We should expect to find the value of the book not in disclosures of the course of church history during nineteen following centuries, nor in forecasts of still future events and of the end of the world, but rather historically

in its fitness to brace Christian faith to meet one of the great crises in its history, and permanently in the faith that inspires it in the rule of God and the certain victory of his cause and the safety and glory of faithfulness to him even to death.

2. *Methods of Its Interpretation*

Older methods not tenable

If our book is an apocalypse, we must unhesitatingly reject most of the methods of interpreting it that have been current in the past. We can no longer consider the question whether the beasts of chapters 13 and 17 refer to Mohammed and the Turks, or to Luther and Protestantism, or to the Pope and the Romish church. Nor can we assent to any of the views, still more or less current, according to which the book predicts the whole course of church history to the end of the world, either literally reviewing its great persons and events, or symbolically representing the conflicts of opposing principles from the beginning to the end. Nor can we accept the view that its predictions refer not only in part but altogether to persons and events still future. Over against all such conceptions the analogy of Daniel and the Jewish apocalypses, the express language of the book itself, and in general the historical spirit of our own time, unite in compelling us to seek for the meaning of the imagery of the book primarily in factors present in the writer's age and place.

The first decisive and secure step of historical criticism

in the study of this book was the recognition of the Roman empire as the persecuting and godless power whose allurements are to be resisted, whose violence is to be endured, whose overthrow is to be the first work of the coming Christ. Isolated scholars in far older times knew this, but it was through men like Lücke, Bleek and Ewald that it has gained the acceptance of most modern scholars. The persecution by Nero and the fear of his return from the dead seems to be a concrete factor in the book, but the reign of Domitian, especially the enforcement of the emperor cult in the provinces during his reign, furnishes its immediate background. In the light of this and of the special conditions of the churches of Asia Minor we are to read the book, which was, like all the New Testament writings and even in a very special sense, a book for its times.

Rome is the godless power

After the historical situation, the most important thing for the interpreter of Revelation to take account of is the fact that the materials of its visions are largely drawn from the Old Testament and from apocalyptical traditions already current. These traditions would naturally come from some earlier crisis in the history of the Christian or the Jewish church; and the use of such material would naturally lead to just such occasional indications of an earlier date, or such varieties of view, as our further study of the book will disclose.[1] We shall often have two ques-

Use of Old Testament and traditional materials

[1] For example 11 : 1–2 points to a date before the destruction of Jerusalem, while 17 : 10–11 requires us to come down to Domitian. In 7 : 1–8 we seem

tions to answer about a given visionary figure—its original meaning, and its application by the present writer; and the question of the original meaning may divide itself still further into a study of nearer and more remote origins.

3. *Its Composition and Plan*

The question of its unity

The Book of Revelation has been by many praised for its artistic structure, while many on the other hand have denied not only its art, but even its unity, and have maintained that the seams and breaks in its construction, and the diversity of different parts in the historical situation they presuppose and the type of Christianity they represent, can be explained only by the supposition that the book had at least two authors and perhaps several more.

The question of progress

It is evident that in general the book presents a progressive movement from the treatment of present actual conditions in certain churches of Asia Minor, through approaching catastrophes embracing all regions and peoples of the earth and the earth itself in their scope, on to the final overthrow of the powers of evil and the consummate blessedness of the faithful in a new heaven and earth. Yet the movement is by no means straight forward from beginning to end. The structure of Daniel and other apocalypses would not, indeed, lead us to expect a chronological

to meet with a narrow Jewish Christianity, while 7 : 9–17 is as universal as Paul. A Jewish Messiah warrior is pictured in 19 : 11 ff., but a divine being meets us elsewhere.

sequence. In Daniel the successive visions do not move forward in time, but advance rather in the clearness and detail with which they indicate the identity of the power of evil with the Greek empire and Antiochus Epiphanes, the time and manner of their overthrow, and the experiences and rewards of the people of God. So in Revelation it is not until chapters 13 and 17 that we have clear indications that the ruling power of evil is Rome, and perhaps hints of Nero as its personal embodiment; and it is not until chapter 20 that the consummation divides into two stages. Of the fall of Rome and the reward of the saints many anticipatory descriptions are inserted. In 6 : 12–17 we have nothing less than the final day of God's judgment. It is described again in 14 : 14–20. Yet its proper place appears to be in chapters 19 and 20. In 7 : 9–17 we already read of the final blessedness of the faithful. So in 11 : 15–18 and 15 : 2–4 the establishment of God's kingdom is announced. Yet only in chapters 21–22 does the consummation appear to be reached. The fall of Rome appears to have been already accomplished in 14 : 8; it is more fully described in 16 : 17–21; still predicted in 17 : 16; announced as if an accomplished fact in 18 : 2, and predicted still more elaborately in 18 : 4–24; again announced in 19 : 2–3, but perhaps not finally effected until 19 : 11–21. Yet the inference which many interpreters from Augustine on have drawn that the method of the writer is one of recapitulation does not seem to do justice

The habit of anticipation

to the general indications of progress from the beginning to the end of the book. It seems therefore more probable that anticipatory hints and summary statements characterize the writer's method. These could be explained as due to his practical aim, his desire to warn and also to encourage. This would lead him not to put off to the end of the book that by which the tempted and wavering faith of Christians was to be strengthened, the assurance that the fall of Rome and the glorious reward of those who were faithful even unto death was near at hand. This is the one message of the book from the beginning, announced in the opening verses, and enforced in the letters, whose promises to those who overcome contain all the main features of chapters 21–22, and formally connect the beginning of the book with the end.

The plan in detail

Turning now to details, it is not easy to say just how far we may ascribe to the author an elaborate plan by which this general impression is produced. According to the ruling view the predictions of chapters 4–22 are made up of three series of seven judicial acts. These do not simply repeat one another in new form, but the seventh of each series is unfolded in a new series. We have first seven seals, then seven trumpets which develop the contents or significance of the seventh seal, then seven bowls which elaborate the seventh trumpet. In the case of the seals and the trumpets the first four are distinct in character from the remaining three, and the seventh is separated from the

The plan of successive sevens

sixth by two interrupting episodes (7 : 1–8, 9–17 ; 10,11 : 1–13). The seven bowls are preceded by the introduction of the three great enemies of God, the dragon and the two beasts (12–13), and an anticipation of their overthrow (14), and followed by a fuller description of the fall and punishment of the beasts and finally of the dragon (17–20). Then comes the consummation (21–22). This idea of the plan of the book may be represented by the following scheme from Holtzmann : [1]

1 : 1–8, Introduction.

1 : 9–3 : 22, The seven letters.

4 : 1–5 : 14, Heavenly scene of the visions.

6 : 1–17, Six seals.

7 : 1–17, The sealed and the Blessed.

8 : 1–5, The trumpets coming forth out of the seventh seal.

8 : 6–9 : 21, Six trumpets.

10 : 1–11 : 14, Fortunes of Jerusalem.

11 : 15–19, Seventh trumpet.

12 : 1–14 : 5, The great visions of the three chief foes and the Messiah-Kingdom.

14 : 6–20, Return to the earlier context.

15 : 1–16 : 1, Transition to the bowls.

16 : 2–21, Seven bowls.

17 : 1–19 : 10, The great Babylon.

19 : 11–20 : 15, Final catastrophes.

21 : 1–22 : 5, The new Jerusalem.

22 : 6–21, Conclusion.

[1] *Commentar*, p. 295.

Objections to this plan

The objection to this theory of the writer's plan is that the passages which stand in the way of it, those in the right-hand column, are too important to be regarded as mere interrupting interludes, and a plan which has no proper place for them can hardly have been in the author's mind. The fullest and most significant predictions of the book stand in no relation at all, or only in the loosest relation, to the series of sevens. Certainly from chapter 10 to the end the scheme of sevens is largely abandoned,[1] and the seven bowls, which are the least original and impressive part of this section, being dependent on the seven trumpets and inferior to them in force, appear rather like an insertion in this part of the book than its chief contents.

If, as is commonly affirmed, the seventh seal is developed in seven trumpets, and the seventh trumpet in the seven bowls and what introduces and follows them, then the content of the seventh seal and trumpet is in each case all that follows to the end of the book, and we should begin a new division with the end of the sixth, not with the announcement of the seventh. In that case chapters 7 and 10 need not be regarded as mere insertions, but may be taken as the proper introductions of new stages in the progress of the drama. The seven seals are not ended in 8 : 1, but when the seventh seal is removed, the book is opened of which the remainder of our prophecy must de-

[1] This may be the meaning of the reference to the seven thunders which the seer heard, but was forbidden to write (10 : 4).

scribe the contents. So also 11 : 15–19 does not complete an apocalypse of seven trumpets, but introduces the seventh, which contains, as is distinctly said (10 : 7), all that follows. Even the seventh bowl, though not formally separated from the sixth, contains not simply 16 : 17–21, but also the following chapters, which describe in fuller detail its theme—the fall of Babylon-Rome.[1]

I suggest, therefore, the following as approximately the writer's plan : Another view of the author's plan

Superscription, 1 : 1–3.

I. The Messages of Christ to his Churches, 1 : 4–3 : 22.
  1. Introduction :
    Salutation, 1 : 4–6.
    Theme, 1 : 7.
    Attestation, 1 : 8.
  2. The Prophet's call, 1 : 9–20.
  3. The seven messages, 2–3.

II. Visions of the Future, 4–22.
  A. Introduction :
    1. Vision of God, by whom all is done, 4.
    2. Vision of Christ, by whom all is known and revealed, 5.
  B. First Stages of the Coming Judgment, 6–9.
    1. Destructive powers seen at the opening of six seals, 6.
    2. Salvation of the faithful, 7.
      a. The safety of the saints, 7 : 1–8.
      b. Final blessedness of martyrs, 7 : 9–17.
    3. Preliminary judgments ; destroying one-third of earth and mankind at the sounding of six trumpets, 8–9.

[1] See 17 : 1 ; 21 : 9.

C. Last Stages of the Judgment, 10–20.

(I) Introduction :

1. The Prophet's new commission, 10.
2. New assurances, in old figures of the safety of saints and martyrs, 11 : 1–13.
   a. Safety of the true worshippers, 11 : 1–2.
   b. Work and reward of martyrs, 11 : 3–13.

(II) The Overthrow of Rome and Satan, 11 : 14–20 : 15.

1. Introduction : Heavenly song, anticipating God's victory, 11 : 14–19.
2. The powers of evil.
   a. Satan, 12.
   b. Rome and the imperial cultus, 13.
3. The opposing host, Christ and the undefiled, 14 : 1–5.
4. Last warnings to flee from the wrath to come, 14 : 6–20.
5. The Judgments, 15–20.
   a. Vision of the wrath of God, in seven bowls, 15–16.
   b. Fall of Rome described in a figure, 17.
   c. Fall of Rome in prophecy, 18.
   d. Fall of Rome in heavenly song, 19 : 1–10.
   e. Fall of Rome as the victory of Christ in warfare with the beasts, 19 : 11–21.
   f. The fall of Satan, 20 : 1–10.
   g. General resurrection and Judgment, 20 : 11–15.

D. The Blessed Consummation.

1. The coming of God to dwell with men, 21 : 1–8.
2. The descent of the heavenly Jerusalem, 21 : 9–22 : 9.

Concluding warnings and promises, 22 : 10–21.

This outline assumes that the book had a proper author in its present form and a real unity, in spite of the fact that

it incorporates much material that may have received almost its present form from earlier hands. This conception of the composition of the book, which we here assume to be the true one, was first put forth by Weizsäcker in 1882. He regarded chapters 7 : 1–8; 7 : 9–17; 11 : 1–13; 12 : 1–11, 12–17; 13, and 17, as such older oracles, perhaps in part Jewish, which our author incorporated in his book.

Varying views as to the composition of the book

On the other hand, some scholars have supposed that entire apocalypses lie behind our book, that it has no proper unity, and that its final editor was in no sense its author. Vischer, in 1886, proposed the view that the book is a Jewish apocalypse (4 : 1–22 : 5), set in a Christian framework (1–3; 22 : 6–21), and slightly edited by the addition of occasional Christian sentences. More elaborate analyses followed. Spitta found a primitive Christian apocalypse by John Mark, to which a later Christian added two Jewish apocalypses, one from Caligula's time, and one from Pompey's. The last analysis of this sort, by J. Weiss, is somewhat like Spitta's.

In general it may be said that there are no such conclusive grounds for analysis here as in the Book of Enoch, and yet it is important to recognize that the writer uses materials that were shaped for earlier and different situations than his own. It is probable that much came originally from Palestine, and was written in Hebrew, and it is also probable that some of it was written by Jews. Chris-

Conclusions

tians adopted into their Old Testament canons for a time some purely Jewish apocalypses, and it was easy for them, regarding the Christian church as the true Israel, to use Jewish language as the poetic and sometimes even as the literal expression of Christian beliefs and hopes.

4. *The Author*

The apostle or the presbyter John?

The writer calls himself John (1 : 1, 4, 9; 22 : 8), and declares that he saw his visions on the Island of Patmos where he was "on account of the word of God and on account of the testimony of Jesus," that is, as usually understood, on account of persecution or banishment. Justin Martyr is the first to identify this John with the apostle. So also do Irenæus and Tertullian. Dionysius of Alexandria (about 255 A. D.) is the first to argue, on the basis of a comparison with the Fourth Gospel, that the author of Revelation was another John; and Eusebius suggests the Presbyter John, of whom Papias speaks. The earliest opponents of the canonicity of the book, the Alogi, assigned it to the Gnostic, Cerinthus, an idea adopted by the Roman presbyter Caius, about 210 A. D., against whom Hippolytus wrote. The author himself nowhere claims to be an apostle (21 : 14; 18 : 20), and nowhere reveals any personal knowledge of the earthly Jesus. It is usually said that he does assume the position of the unquestioned official head or bishop of the churches

of Asia. But, in the first place, it is not certain that the Apostle John was the head of the churches of Asia Minor;[1] and in the second place it is not clear that the author of Revelation assumes this office. He is a brother and fellow in trial of those to whom he writes (1 : 9); and the one who speaks with authority in the letters is Christ, of whom the writer claims only to be a true prophet, to report truly what he has seen and heard. Like other apocalyptical writers he makes great claims for his book rather than for himself.

Could the book be pseudonymous?

Is it true, then, that unlike other apocalyptical writers he gives his own name? Our book is certainly distinguished from Jewish apocalypses by the fact that it is not written in the person of an ancient patriarch or prophet, and does not survey long stretches of past history in the form of vision. Yet it does not necessarily follow that it is not, like them, pseudonymous. Christians did not need, like Jews, to go far back in order to find prophetic names. They possessed new prophets of their own. If we could hear the prophets speak whom Paul describes and praises we should be able to say whether Revelation is a direct or a secondary product of that new inspiration. Our impression is that it is secondary. It is apocalyptical, and Paul's description of the Christian prophets does not lead us to suppose that the first prophecy was of that type. And being apocalyptical we should not be surprised to find

[1] See B. W. Bacon, in Hibbert Journal, Jan., 1904.

that Revelation was pseudonymous. The apocalypse of Peter was certainly so, though it was widely accepted as genuine. In Second Esdras 1–2 a Christian falls back on the name of the famous Jewish scribe; and in the Sibylline oracles there are Christian pseudepigraphs.

Opposing considerations

On the other hand the Book of Revelation does not contain the familiar marks of pseudonymous writing. If it were put forth in the name of the apostle we should expect some allusions to the known events of his life. But our writer gives no intimation that he had known Jesus, and his picture of Messiah is taken from Jewish sources rather than from the personality known to us in the Gospels.

Not the writer of the Fourth Gospel

Our author is certainly not the writer of the Fourth Gospel. The difference in style and in type of religion remains too great, after all that has been said of minor points of contact between the two books.

Hebraistic and perhaps Palestinian

Revelation is so entirely Hebraistic that we may assume that its author was a Jew and probably a Palestinian, and the possibility remains open that the work of some John of Palestine has been adapted to a new region and a new crisis by a writer of Asia Minor.

In the present uncertain state of inquiry it is chiefly important to remain undogmatic and to remember that the meaning and value of the book to us do not depend on our view of its authorship.

5. *The Historical Situation and Date*

The worship of the Roman emperors

The historical background of the book is the Roman empire and especially the worship of the emperors and its enforcement in Asia Minor. This was a natural continuation of the earlier worship of Alexander and his successors, the Greek kings of Syria and Egypt. It was introduced for the same purpose that it then served, that of unifying the diverse elements in the empire. Augustus declined it in Rome, but encouraged it in the provinces, and especially in the East where it was already familiar. The enthusiastic temper with which it was generally welcomed is evident from the extravagant language applied to Augustus in connection with the introduction of the Julian calendar in the Asian province. He always joined with it the worship of the goddess Rome. It was not meant to displace the native religions but to have recognition by their side, in a more or less close relation to them. It was valued by the emperors as an effective means of Romanizing the empire, and hence was furthered especially where Roman culture did not prevail, and in the Orient where it would cause least offence. It was in fact offensive only to monotheistic faiths, Judaism and Christianity, which could not worship God and Cæsar. Jews and Christians, in refusing it, would bring upon themselves suspicion and contempt. In general Jews fared better than Christians during this period. The Jews had gained concessions,

Jewish privileges

because of their long persistent refusal to take part in idolatrous practices under whatever pressure, and these privileges which Cæsar had granted and Augustus confirmed were seldom violated by the authorities. Caligula did indeed attempt to enforce the imperial cult, and tried to have his statue erected in the temple. It is quite possible that Revelation 13 came originally from a Jew of Palestine during this crisis. The Jews of Alexandria also suffered during Caligula's reign. But Claudius restored their ancient rights and exemptions. Christians, however, did not necessarily inherit these privileges.

Special development of the cult in Asia Minor

There were temples of Cæsar in Palestine (Samaria, Panias, Cæsarea), but it was in Asia Minor that the emperor cult was most developed, and Pergamum seems to have been its centre, though Ephesus had a temple to Rome and Augustus during that emperor's reign. It does not appear, however, that this worship was enforced by law before the reign of Domitian. Paul's life and letters lead us to the confident inference that the cult was not forced upon the Christians of Asia in his time. First Peter knows of persecutions of Christians in this region, but not by the Roman government and not for refusal to take part in the official religion. Both Paul (Rom. 13 : 1–5) and First Peter (2 : 13–17) urge submission to Roman rule, which therefore could not have demanded idolatry. The Jews and the populace hated and misused Christians, but Rome rather restrained than supported this hatred (2 Thes. 2 : 6–7).

The situation reflected in Revelation is very different from this, and evidently later. The reign of Domitian is indicated by this general situation. It is true that we know of no edict from this emperor enforcing the imperial cult; but it appears that under him, and presumably with his approval, the priests of the cult and the governors of the provinces were especially zealous in enforcing it. We do not know how far compulsion had gone when Revelation was written. It may be, as J. Weiss thinks, that there had been already only a few martyrdoms, but that the seer had reason to expect in the immediate future a forcible and even fanatical insistence upon emperor worship, which would involve a general persecution of Christians, with the apostasy of many and the martyrdom of the great body of the faithful. Something, perhaps a rumor of an imperial decree, or the knowledge of plots among the local officials or the populace, made the writer certain that such measures as Revelation 13:11–17 described would be enforced. There is evidence in fact that under Domitian the extension of emperor worship became a persecuting and oppressive policy. Under Domitian and Trajan Rome first set itself definitely the task of stamping out Christianity. The Book of Revelation has therefore the unique significance of marking the transition from the earlier tolerant attitude of Rome to its later hostile attitude. It is the first expression of Christian faith as it asserted itself and took its stand over against the world

especially under Domitian

Revelation marks the beginning of warfare between Christianity and Rome

power when this became its outspoken enemy through insistence upon an idolatrous worship. The end of the warfare thus opened was not what the book expects, the fall of Rome and the enthronement of Christ and his martyr saints in its place. It was an end that would have been inconceivable at the outset, the Christianization of Rome itself. In the situation described we have the explanation and justification of the apocalyptical form of our book. Here just as in the crisis that called forth the Book of Daniel, the power of the ruling state was applied to compel men to renounce faith in God. A religious test was made the test of loyal citizenship. Christian faith could then take no form but that of the renunciation of the right of Roman rule, and could sustain itself only by the expectation of the speedy fall of that rule at the hand of God. Only this could warn and recover apostates and give courage to the faithful to endure even death itself.

Confirmation of a date under Domitian

The date which the historical situation requires—not before the reign of Domitian—is confirmed by other indications. The notes on chapter 17 will show that in his reign this chapter received its present form. The eighth king of 17 : 11 can scarcely be any other. Harnack regards this as one of the most definite dates in the New Testament literature because it is so evidently added to verse 10, written under Vespasian (69–79 A. D.), to fit the vision to a later period. It effectually excludes the infer-

ence that would naturally be made from verse 10 that the book as a whole comes from the earlier reign.

Legend of the return of Nero

A less conclusive result is reached by the use made in our book of the figure of Nero. After the death of this last and worst of the line of Augustus the rumor arose that he was not dead but had fled to the Parthians, the great eastern enemies of Rome, and would return with their support against the empire. Among Christians this return of their persecutor became an interpretation of the expected Antichrist, and it was affirmed that he would reign over the East with his throne in Jerusalem. As time passed the idea that Nero was still alive changed into the belief that he would return from the grave, and his figure took on more superhuman, demoniacal, features. It may with plausibility be maintained that it is in this form, which belongs to the close of the first century, that the legend is alluded to in Revelation 13 : 3 ; 17 : 8 ff. This would be a decisive point if we could be sure that 17 : 11 identifies Domitian with the returning Nero. This is possible but not certain.

The time of the seven letters

We naturally look with special interest to the seven letters, the most original and distinctive part of the book, and most definite in their references to concrete conditions. But we find here no allusion to historical events, and can only say that Christianity had had a somewhat long history in these churches. There was a relaxation of earlier zeal, a loss of love, a tendency to admit heathen ways of

living and thinking. All this points to a later rather than an earlier period. Paul's position as founder of the church in Ephesus, also, appears to be wholly a thing of the past.

An argument for the year 93

Harnack now follows Reinach in fixing upon 93 A. D. as the exact year of the final redaction of our book.[1] In 6 : 6 the angel of famine is told to make grain scarce but leave oil and wine abundant. Men will lack necessary food, while they possess what tends to luxury and immorality. This strange forecast suggests some peculiar situation. Now in 92 A. D., Domitian prohibited the cultivation of the vine in the provinces, nominally to encourage the culture of grain and restrain drunkenness, really to protect the vineyards of Italy. A year later he revoked this edict, and the writer of Revelation saw in this the danger of a dearth of grain and a superfluity of wine. He adds oil perhaps as another article of luxury which could not by itself serve for food.

Conclusion

The date which Irenæus assigned, "near the end of the reign of Domitian," that is, about, if not exactly, 93 A. D., remains the probable one for the book as it stands.[2]

6. *The Canonicity of the Book*

Disputes between East and West

The place of the Book of Revelation in the New Testament was long disputed. Its claims are great (1 : 1–3 ; 22 : 16, 18–19), and it was probably treasured as the most sacred of books by those who first received it. But it did not hold its place in the East, and its reception into the

[1] *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1902, p. 591 f. [2] See further pp. 229 f., 261 f.

canon was secured only by the advocacy of the Western church. The Greek mind naturally favored a more ethical and rational type of Christianity, and always opposed the millenarian ideas that appealed to this book for support. Eusebius records the objections to it, and seems to sympathize with them ; and the book was not found in the original Syriac New Testament. But the Western church accepted it after an elaborate defence by Hippolytus, about 215 A. D., and the Eastern church finally yielded to the West.

At the beginning of the Reformation these questions arose again, and an effort was made to put Revelation in a class of deutero-canonical books. Luther himself was at first averse to the book because of its extravagant claims, its obscurity, and the absence of the Pauline gospel in it ; but he afterward recognized its value as expressing the faith that, however great the powers of evil may be, Christ is near and the victory of his cause certain.

Inference as to its real value

The history of its place in the canon suggests that it has been valued by the church, not for its extravagant claims, nor for its visionary form and the air of mystery that surrounds it, but for its power to sustain Christian faith and hope amid trial and apparent defeat. Christian faith has always been able to take the language of the book in a poetic sense and find in it an expressive elaboration of the beatitude, "Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against

you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven;" and of such expressions of the Christian faith at its height as this: "If we died with him, we shall also live with him: if we endure, we shall also reign with him."

7. *Its Teachings and Value*

The predictions of Revelation

The book predicts the speedy coming of God, in or with the coming of Christ, as judge. Christians will then be divided, the true from the false. Rome will fall and Satan himself, whose power Rome embodies, will be first bound and finally destroyed. Those who are faithful unto death in the present trials will have as their special reward a place of glory and power by the side of Christ during the thousand years of his earthly rule. The final destiny of all believers is to live with God and Christ in eternal blessedness. The fall of Rome is described in a variety of ways. It is not clear whether the author thought that a literal earthquake would have part in its overthrow (6:12–17; 16:17–21), or whether it would fall before foreign hosts, especially the Parthians with Nero at their head (9:13 ff.; 16:12–16; 17:16 ff.), or whether the returning Christ would smite it (19:11 ff.). In any case the outpouring of God's wrath against Rome is part of a larger judgment, which involves the fall of Satan and all his evil powers. Behind the world empire are spiritual powers of darkness. Their conflicts with angelic powers of good

form the invisible background and ultimate explanation of the power of evil on earth and the guarantee of its final overthrow.

Points of stress

It is hard to distinguish between figure and reality in our author's predictions, but two things he certainly held with all the energy of his being: the approaching fall of the Roman empire, and the reward in a power and blessedness far beyond anything earthly that awaited those who were faithful even to martyrdom in their resistance against the force and persuasions of the world power.

Ruling religious ideas

Underlying the religion of the book is the faith in one God, who was and is and is to come, and the certainty that his power is absolute and must prevail. The transcendence of God and the inevitableness of his purposes are emphasized, while the qualities of fatherhood which Christ disclosed do not appear. Second only to God is Christ. He is seen as an angelic being (1 : 9–20), yet in power and dignity is above all angels, even those nearest God's throne (5 : 1 ff.). The earthly Jesus is wholly out of view apart from his redeeming death, and the spirit of his life and teaching is hardly to be felt. He is given titles that belong to God (1 : 17–18; 2 : 8; 22 : 13), is worshipped by angels and men (5 : 9–14), and not only reigns during the earthly millennium, but sits with God on his throne in the final consummation (21 : 22–23; 22 : 1–3).

The Christianity of the book has on the one hand a Jewish character, and on the other various aspects closely

Relation to Pauline Christianity

related to Paul. It is not certain that Paul's influence is to be recognized. It is as probable that the book represents a late development of primitive Christianity in which a very high Christology and a broad universality, that is, an entire freedom from Jewish particularism, had been gained largely or altogether apart from Paul.

II

THE MESSAGES OF CHRIST TO THE CHURCHES

1. *The Seven Churches of Asia*

The seven cities

The seven letters seem unmistakably to be addressed to seven actual churches within a certain radius of Ephesus, for the description of the character and conditions of each is distinct and concrete. Yet on the other hand the choice of only seven in a region where there were certainly more suggests that under the form of addressing specific churches the writer meant to address all churches in the province of Asia, or all churches in general, and all Christians. Only in such an ideal or representative sense, it would seem, could the seven churches be identified with the seven candlesticks and stars (1 : 12–20; 2 : 1). Each letter, moreover, is formally declared to contain what the Spirit says to the churches. It is certain that these are not letters like those of Paul, and that they were never sent separately to the various communities. The seven mes-

sages form together the complete message of Christ to the entire body of his followers. They were meant to be read together, and were probably meant originally to introduce, as they now do, a book of prophecies which do not concern any special cities, nor even any one region alone, but the whole Roman empire, and even the whole world.

These seven cities were indeed important, and if we could suppose that each was understood as "the centre and head of a district," [1] they might be made to include the Christians of the Province of Asia. It is hard, however, to account for the omission of such old and important churches as those at Colossæ and Hierapolis except by the determination to hold to the number seven, unless, indeed, the limitation lay in the personal knowledge or relationships of the writer.

Ephesus, Smyrna and Pergamum deserved to be named first in any list of the cities of Asia. They vied with each

[1] Ramsay now argues (The Expositor, 1904) that the seven cities were situated along the line of certain great roads which a messenger would naturally follow, and that they were suitable distributing points where seven other messengers could take letters and make smaller circuits, each in his own region. The theory is not without its attractions, but presents difficulties as well. Ramsay regards the writer as "charged with the superintendence and oversight of all those churches [of Asia Minor], invested with divinely given and absolute authority over them." But an apocalypse is not the form in which we should expect such a bishop to embody his message, and Ramsay thinks the choice of this literary form unfortunate. In truth, the fact that our book is an apocalypse weighs against Ramsay's view of its author and its purpose, and the method of its circulation. See his *Letters to the Seven Churches* (N. Y., 1905).

other for the title of first city of the province. Since Ephesus stands first in the list, the others following in a geographical order, moving north, east and south, it was probably regarded as the capital by the writer and by popular opinion. It seems, however, that the older capital, Pergamum, retained its place in the official view until after our book was written, for it was not only the first city to have the honor of a temple to Rome and Augustus (29 B. C.), but also the first to be granted a second imperial temple, probably under Trajan. Smyrna had a temple to Tiberius in 26 A. D. It is possible that Ephesus received this distinction under Claudius (41–54 A. D.). There was a temple there to Augustus much earlier (before 5 B. C.), but as it was not ordered by Rome it did not involve the title Neocoros, that is, "warden of a temple dedicated to the imperial cultus." This title, which is found on coins and inscriptions, appears not to have been held by others of the seven cities until long after the time of this book. It cannot therefore be said that the choice of the seven was due to the special prevalence in them of this cult.

Allusions to events in the history of the cities

Professor Ramsay finds in the letters allusions to the past history and current reputation of the various cities, as well as to the conditions and character of the churches located in them. Thus he finds an allusion to the fact that Smyrna was destroyed about 600 B. C., and not refounded until about 300 B. C., in the description of Christ as one

who died and lived again, and the promise to the faithful disciple to gain life through death. Sardis was known as a city of the past, decayed from its former estate. It had also twice been taken by stealth in spite of its supposed impregnable position. So 3 : 1–3 applies with singular fitness to the town as well as to the church. Laodicea had become rapidly rich under Roman rule, rebuilding itself after destruction by earthquake, in 60 A. D., without such help from Rome as oth r cities received in like circumstances (see 3 : 17). It was a financial centre, owing to its situation at the crossing of three great highways. There are allusions to things for which it was specially famous in 3 : 18. Since in Thyatira the guild of coppersmiths was influential, it is possible that the tutelary deity of the city was represented with feet of brass, as Christ is in 2 : 18. Philadelphia had an "open door" for trade with the interior of the country, and so also for Christian missions (3 : 8 ; cf. 2 Cor. 2 : 12). This is not wholly convincing. Moreover it is the church, not the city, which the writer describes and approves or condemns, and with which in each case he seems to show intimate personal knowledge. But Professor Ramsay points out that the special danger of the church might well lie in the peculiar character of the city in which it was ; for the one danger was the influence of Greco-Roman life and ideas, and this took its form and got its strength from the special circumstances of the several towns. The wealth and worldly pride of Laodicea were

reflected in the church. The strength of trade guilds in Thyatira led to the temptation to join them, though practical idolatry and perhaps the danger of immorality were involved in the common meal which bound the members together. The significance of Pergamum as the centre of the worship of the emperor explained the dangers that threatened the church there.

The two churches which were most praised, Smyrna and Philadelphia, were the two in which the Jews are mentioned as troublesome. It has been pointed out as a striking fact that these two churches are those that have proved in later history most tenacious of life and most loyal to Christianity. Smyrna is still the most flourishing and the most occidental of the cities of Asia Minor, and Philadelphia has most successfully resisted the Turk, and is still largely Christian (see 3 : 12[a]).

A region of earthquakes

Another important fact about these cities is that they had suffered much from earthquakes. A great earthquake in 17 A. D. destroyed Sardis and Philadelphia and several other cities. Tiberius contributed largely to the rebuilding of them. Other destructive earthquakes are also recorded. It is further to be remembered that these provinces were near the Parthian frontier, and would feel the menace to Roman power from this its only serious rival. We shall notice further on that Asia Minor was the centre of a zealous imperialism, whereas in Rome itself the old republican ideals still had much power, and the growing

pretensions of the emperors were by no means universally approved.

The angels of the churches

An important problem is presented by the address "to the angel of the church." It does not seem probable that a bishop or any other officer of a church could be so completely identified with the church itself as this angel is. He is warned, blamed, praised, wholly as if he were the church itself, and never once in his separate personal character and official responsibility. It is probable therefore that the angel of the church is its heavenly counterpart, or representative, not its heavenly ruler or guardian or advocate, but simply its heavenly presence, a personification of its actual character, the church itself regarded as a person. The conception of angelic representatives of kingdoms and nations is frequently found in various forms in Jewish writings, and, as will appear, is not wanting elsewhere in the book before us. The writer may have chosen this form of address to fit the heavenly setting of the vision. The heavenly Christ speaks to the heavenly presences of the churches the things which John writes to the churches themselves. The message of the Christ-angel to the church-angel must be written in order that it may reach the actual church on earth, and the identification of the two is so close that it can be said that John writes to the angel.

The letters are introduced by descriptions of Christ, which are in most cases borrowed from the vision (1 : 12–20), and close with promises which in most cases anticipate

The artistic plan and structure of the letters

the fuller descriptions of the life to come in the closing chapters of the book. The selection of descriptive features from the vision of Christ is in several cases made with reference to the special message of the letter; and this is sometimes, though not so often and clearly, the case with the selection of the reward. This artistic structure is at many points so evident, and the skill displayed so great, that we may suppose that a reason determined the choice of titles and rewards where it is not now evident. The first reward suggests Eden; the second, the Fall; the third, the Wilderness; the fourth, the Kingdom. Yet it is hardly probable that the writer intended to represent the fulfilment of successive stages of Old Testament history.

The historical situation

In regard to the historical situation, it is to be observed that some persecutions are past, but that general and severe persecution seems to be a thing of the future, though it is regarded as imminent. The present tendency in the churches is toward a relaxation of earlier Christian faith and zeal, a loss of love and the adoption of heathen ways of living and thinking. The influence of the ruling culture, of the ideas and practices of the great Greco-Roman world, is strong. Degeneracy is either seen or feared by the writer, and his admonition is to get back what they have lost, and to hold fast what they have, even if faithfulness means death.

Since in later parts of the book resistance against the enticements and compulsions of emperor worship is most

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strongly urged, both by threat and by promise (13 ; 15 : 2 ; 16 : 5 f., 10 ; 17 : 6 ; 19 : 20 f. ; 20 : 4–6), it is natural to regard this as the fundamental teaching underlying the practical heathenism, the conformity to heathen ways, of the Nicolaitans or Balaamites (2 : 6, 14–15), and of the false prophetess (2 : 20 ff.). The Nicolaitans or Balaamites

This is confirmed by the fact that Pergamum was the city where the emperor cult was first introduced with temple and priesthood. The language used points to a Christian sect, claiming apostolic authority (2 : 2 ; cf. 6), authenticating itself by prophecy (2 : 20), claiming to possess a teaching of a peculiar mystery and value, called "deep things of Satan" by our author (2 : 15, 24), not libertine to the degree of heathenish immorality, yet believing that Christian faith did not prevent free association with heathen, and such conformity to their ways as this involved, perhaps more exactly the eating at a common table in connection with religious rites, such as was involved in membership in one of the Greek guilds or social clubs. Perhaps even participation in the imperial cult was allowed by some Jewish synagogues, for the relations of Jews in the Dispersion to heathen varied through all the gradations from strict separation to practical conformity.

2. *The Letters to the Churches* (1–3)

(1) *Superscription* (1 : 1–3)

Authorship and importance of the book (1: 1–3)

The author of this revelation is Christ, who, however, received it from God, that he might give it to the Christian community. The mode of its communication was through an angel, who again imparted it by visions to John. It can therefore with equal right be called the word of God, or the testimony of Jesus, or the things that John saw. Its contents is the prediction of future events, those that are not of a remote but of the immediate future. Its importance is great because the events it foretells are not only most significant but also near at hand ; therefore, happy is he that reads in the public meetings, and happy they that hear and observe these prophecies.

(2) *Introduction* (1 : 4–8)

Salutation, with a summary of the writer's theology (1: 4–6)

John salutes the seven churches that are in Asia. I wish you the blessing of God, the seven spirits—that is, his spirit, perfect and one in its various workings—and Jesus Christ, these three ; and would remind you that Christ gained his kingly place through his faithful testimony and his resurrection from death. His love to us not only redeemed us from sin, but will exalt us also to a kingship and priesthood like his own.[1] To him therefore our praise is due.

[1] Ex. 19: 6 ; cf. 1 Pet. 2: 9.

My message is that it is this Christ who is coming in majesty, as Daniel[1] prophesied ; it is he whose coming will produce in those who rejected and crucified him that terror and dismay of which Zechariah[2] wrote. The theme: the coming of Christ (1 : 7)

I, the Lord God, the ultimate author of this revelation, attest it by my name, Jehovah, which means that I am not only the God of the present and of the past, but also of the future (cf. Ex. 3 : 14 ; Isa. 44 : 6 ; 48 : 12). The attestation of the book by God himself (1 : 8)

(3) *The Prophet's Call and Commission* (1 : 9–20)

I, John, the immediate author of this book, one with you in faith and suffering, received my message in this manner: I was in the island of Patmos in banishment on account of my preaching of the gospel. It was on a Sunday when in a state of ecstasy I heard a loud voice commanding me to write what I saw and send it to seven specified churches in leading cities in the province of Asia. Turning to see who spoke, I saw the heavenly Christ. His appearance was that of one in priestly dress, but of kingly power and heavenly radiance, with dazzling eyes and shining feet and resounding voice. He seemed to me like the two whom Daniel saw in his vision, the Ancient of Days and the one like a man ;[3] but also, and even more, like his vision of the angel Gabriel.[4] He stood in the midst of seven candlesticks and had seven stars in his right hand The calling of the prophet (1 : 9–11)

and his vision of Christ, who charges him to write what he sees (1 : 12–20)

[1] Dan. 7 : 13.
[2] Zech. 12 : 10.
[3] Dan. 7 : 9, 13.
[4] Dan. 10 : 5–6.

and a sword in his mouth, symbol of the judicial and destroying power of divine words.[1] I was overcome, and fainted at this sublime sight, but he put his hand on me and said, I am, even as God is, the first and the last,[2] and, by pre-eminence, the living one, since I died and yet now live, and so have gained authority over death. I repeat therefore my command that you write what you have seen and what you are to see. Take heed especially to the seven stars and candlesticks. The candlesticks are the churches amid which I stand, and the stars represent the personal being and character of the several churches. What you behold, then, is the truth that I, the glorious and divine Christ, who contain and surpass all Old Testament visions of a Messianic or angelic man, and even include essential marks of God himself, live amid my churches and have perfect knowledge of them and absolute authority over them. My message which you are to convey to them they must therefore hear and heed.

(4) *The Seven Letters*

The church at Ephesus is praised for its rejection of new teachings, but blamed for the loss of its old love (2 : 1–7)

He who has authoritative possession of the churches and is present in their midst says, I know your merit in zealously excluding false apostles and in the patient endurance of trials. Yet you have lost something of the brotherly love that marked earlier days. I charge you to recover this, lest I deny your right to a place among Chris-

[1] Isa. 11:4; 49:2; Ps. Sol. 17:27, 39. [2] Isa. 44:6; 48:12.

tian churches. Yet your zeal against the Nicolaitans[1] is praiseworthy. Listen then to this prophetic message. He who victoriously resists these evil influences shall gain the right which man lost in Adam, the right to eternal life in the blessed presence of God.

The church in Smyrna is praised and forewarned of increasing persecutions (2 : 8–11)

He who knows by experience that death leads to life says, I know your worth amid persecutions at the hands of those who are Jews in name but not in reality, having fallen into heathenish ways of living (or, having failed to join the Christian community, which now forms the true Judaism). You are about to suffer still more severely for a short time. But if you are faithful in prison and even in martyrdom you will win the prize of eternal life. Listen to this prophetic message. He that triumphantly endures trial, even to the suffering of bodily death, shall escape real death, the death of the soul.

Pergamum is praised for faithfulness amid hard conditions (2 : 12–13), but blamed for tolerating a Roman party (2 : 14–17)

He whose words have power to judge and destroy says, I know that your city is the first and chief seat of the worship of the emperor, and that even in the time of Antipas, that representative martyr (the first?), who fell a victim to the imperial religion, you did not deny me. Yet there are some among you who practise and teach conformity to heathen manners and morals. For as Balaam's counsel led to the fall of Israel into unchastity,[2] so the Nicolai-

[1] Probably the same as the false apostles.

[2] By applying Num. 31 : 16 to 25 : 1 ff., Jewish tradition made Balaam responsible for Israel's sin, and so the type of a false religious teacher (Philo, *Vita Mosis*, i., 48–55; Josephus, *Ant.*, iv., 6 : 6 ff.).

tans [whose very name may be taken as the Greek equivalent for Balaam, meaning conqueror, or lord of the people] have misled some among you. Remove this fault, or else I will come and speak against you my destroying words. Listen to this prophetic message: He that conquers shall receive [in place of the polluted food which some of you now eat] heavenly sustenance, as rare and precious as the manna once kept before the ark in the holy place, which God hid when the temple was destroyed, and kept for the Messianic age.[1] He shall receive also a name written on a stone, a secret name known only to him who receives it.[2]

Thyatira is praised for Christian growth (2 : 18–19), but blamed for allowing a false prophetess (2 : 20–29)

The Son of God, of heart-searching vision and resistless strength, says, I know your Christian virtues, and how they have increased. But you permit the presence of a false prophetess, who like Jezebel of old teaches you to recognize a heathen religion and conform to heathen ways. She has been warned in vain, and now I will destroy her and all her followers as they deserve, for my eyes discern the heart. I add no other charge[3] except to avoid this taint of idolatry and unchastity, which disguises itself as

[1] Ex. 16 : 32–34; Heb. 9 : 4; 2 Mac. 2 : 4–8; Apoc. of Baruch 6 : 7–10; 29 : 8.

[2] Perhaps the symbol is derived from the current idea of secret names that had mysterious and magical powers. No heathen sect possessed so potent a secret of renewal and salvation as would be granted to the faithful Christian.

[3] Cf. Acts 15 : 28. In the Teaching of the Twelve 6 : 3, as in Rev., the prohibition of eating things strangled, and blood (*i.e.*, meat killed in a way not according with Jewish rules), is not added, and the rule agrees with Paul's practice (1 Cor. 10 : 21).

an especially advanced and profound doctrine, and also to keep what you have till I come. He that successfully resists this temptation shall have the place of kingly rule over the heathen—over this very Roman empire to which some would have you submit—which God promised, in the Book of Psalms,[1] to his son, Israel, and which he gave to me, his Son. Give heed to this prophetic message.

Sardis is blamed as for the most part degenerate (3 : 1–3),

He that has divine omniscience says, I know that you have the reputation of living, but you are spiritually dead. Guard what little good remains, for you have brought nothing to completion. Strive to recover what you have lost, lest I come upon you with sudden judgment. There are indeed a few pure souls left among you, to whom my coming will be a blessing. All such shall have their purity made manifest, and shall be known as my disciples in the presence of God, even as I promised.[2] Give heed to this prophetic message.

yet a few even there are worthy (3 : 4–6)

Philadelphia is praised for its fidelity (3 : 7–13)

The message of the holy and true one, of whom that is supremely true which Isaiah said of Eliakim,[3] that he is the highest officer in the palace, and can admit and exclude whom he will: I know your faithfulness, weak though you are. It is to you that I open that door to authority rather than to those who are Jews by birth, but not by character. These instead shall be subject to you; and you, for your fidelity, I will protect in the approaching

[1] Ps. 2 : 8–9. [2] Matt. 10 : 32=Lu. 12 : 8; cf. Mk. 8 : 38=Lu. 9 : 26.
[3] Isa. 22 : 22.

world judgment. My coming is near. Be faithful, and your royalty will be secure. He that conquers shall have a permanent place of honor before God, and shall be known as belonging to God, and to the promised royal city, and to me. Take heed to this prophetic message.

Laodicea is blamed for its spiritual poverty amid worldly prosperity (3 : 14–22)

The message of him whose word is absolute truth, the faithful witness and martyr, and so your example, but also the beginning or principle of creation, and so your Lord and Judge: I know and abhor your indifference, and dull insensibility. You are outwardly prosperous and self-satisfied, but are really in wretched want. I advise you to get from me true riches, and the white raiment of purity, and a cure for the blindness of the soul.[1] This severity of my rebuke is but a sign of my love to you, and is meant to lead you to repentance. I am ready to come as a friend to every one of you who is willing to receive me. The victor in this conflict against worldliness will be with me and share my glory [which is far greater than the earthly glory you covet], as I conquered and share the glory of God. Give heed to this prophetic message.

[1] Ramsay thinks the suggestion is: Instead of the gold of your famous bankers, and your boasted garments of black wool, and the "Phrygian Powder" with which you claim to cure diseased eyes.

III

VISION OF THE CHIEF ACTORS OF THE FUTURE

1. *Sources and Character of the Visions of God and of Christ*

The four living beings

The vision of God in chapter 4 is based on that of Ezekiel (chs. 1, 10) and Isaiah (ch. 6). The conception of the heavenly dwelling-place of God is doubtless older still (see Ex. 24 : 10 ; 1 Kings 22 : 19), though it is not much elaborated elsewhere in the Old Testament.[1] The four living beings come directly from Ezekiel (1 : 5, 18, etc.). We are not, however, to suppose that he originated them. They go back at least in part to the four winds which bear about the storm-cloud, God's chariot (Ezek. 1 : 4, 5). These wind-driven clouds are the cherubim (Ezek. 9 : 3 ; 10 : 20) which carry God's chariot or throne, and so symbolize his presence. Their place in the midst of the throne and about it (Rev. 4 : 6) suggests that they originally supported it. Now if the throne of God is the heaven itself, then we may well suppose that the number four goes back to the mythological conception of four great angelic beings supporting the four corners of heaven, and at the same time representing the four winds.[2]

[1] See Dan. 7 : 9–10 ; Enoch 14 : 8 ff. ; 39–40 ; 46 ; 71 ; Secrets of Enoch 20–22.

[2] See Zech. 1 : 8 ff. ; 6, and Enoch 18 : 2–5, "I saw the four winds which bear the earth and the firmament of heaven, etc." Further compare the four presences in Enoch 40 and Apoc. of Baruch 51 : 11 ; 21 : 6, and the four angels in Enoch 87 : 2–3 ; 88 : 1 ; cf. 90 : 31.

The seven spirits

The seven spirits (v. 5) are an important feature in our author's angelology. In 1 : 4 they are mentioned between God and Christ. A closely related conception is contained in the picture of Christ as standing in the midst of the seven lights and as having seven stars in his hand (1 : 12, 16). Again the seven angels in 8 : 2 must go back to the same original idea. Ezekiel 9 : 2 has seven angel beings, but it is from Zechariah 4 that we get most light on the mythology that underlies the conception. Here it is evident that the seven never-failing lights, the eyes of Jehovah, are originally stars, and no doubt the seven moving objects in the heavens (sun, moon and five planets). These would naturally take the chief place in the hierarchy of heaven, and the central one of the seven, the sun, would be supreme. In the following vision of Christ the seven spirits of God sent out into all the earth are the seven eyes of Messiah (5 : 6). So bold is the Christianization of an Old Testament prophecy (Zech. 4 : 10), and so free the poetic use of the figure. This suggests that the eyes with which the four living beings are filled [1] may have been originally the multitude of the fixed stars.

The twenty-four elders

The twenty-four elders are a harder problem. It has been usually supposed that they represent the twelve patriarchs and the twelve apostles, and so the complete new community, the Christian church. But they appear to be associated, as the seven spirits and the four living beings

[1] Ezek. 1 : 18; Rev. 4 : 8.

are, with God rather than with man.[1] It is possible that the twenty-four classes of priests [2] suggested the number of this angelic priesthood. But on the other hand these beings seem to be kings rather than priests. They form the heavenly court, so that one is inclined to look for their antecedents in the same mythological region in which the four living beings and the seven spirits have their origin. Hence the suggestion has weight that these heavenly kings were once gods, and that the Babylonians seem to have known twenty-four star gods, who formed a circle around the polar star, hence were perhaps a double zodiac, twelve constellations in the north half and twelve in the south half of the heavens.[3]

Poetic use of mythological figures

What do these conceptions signify to our writer? Of course, Judaism had already stripped off the mythological and polytheistic features that originally belonged to them. The four and seven and twenty-four are no longer gods; they are only angels, or spirits. In our author's use of them they have nothing to do but to praise and exalt God and Christ. The twenty-four are crowned, but only that they may cast their crowns before God, and renounce all authority, that he may be all in all. In our vision they

[1] For the use of the word "elders" of a class of angels see Isa. 24 : 23; Secrets of Enoch 4 : 1; cf. Isa. 63 : 9, LXX.

[2] 1 Chron. 24 : 7–18; Josephus, *Ant.*, vii., 14 : 7; *Vita*, i.; and the Talmud, *Taanith*, iv., 2; *Sukka*, v., 6–8.

[3] Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 42–43.

are essentially figures, helping the writer to give effective poetic form and expression to his faith that God is before and over all, that creation is his work, and that he who made the beginning will make the end. The future can be only the unfolding of his plans and the realization of his purposes.

The vision of Christ and the book

The vision of Christ in chapter 5 is made up of wholly different figurative materials from that in 1 : 12–20. A comparison of the two should teach us how free our author is in his vision creations, and how far from imagining that he is describing heavenly things just as they objectively are. This picture of Christ has more elements in it that are exclusively Christian than the other,[1] so that we should naturally ascribe more of it to our author and less to Jewish traditions. Yet here also it is probable that traditional material has been made use of. The vision introduces Christ into the heavenly scene described in the preceding chapter, as if he were in some sense a new-comer, who through vicarious death has gained admission there, and now displays a divine power which none of the angel host, even those nearest the throne of God, possess. He is therefore hailed as a greater one than they all. They have little to do but to praise and glorify God, but he can know the hidden purposes of God, and can both reveal them and co-operate with God in bringing them to pass.

The exaltation of Christ

[1] References to the atoning death of Christ in the expression "the lamb as if slain," and in vv. 9–10.

The thought is closely parallel to that of Paul in Philippians 2 : 5–11. Christ gained through his redemptive death a place of glory and power above the highest angels. They now include him in their praises by the side of God himself. The scene may almost be said to picture, as Gunkel puts it, "the enthroning of a new god." [1] His view indeed is that the material came ultimately from a foreign source, and did originally describe the introduction of a new deity, into some pantheon, and the demonstration of his superiority by his taking and opening a magical book. The book is one of such mysterious, magical character that the opening of it brings about the end of the world, and until one comes who can open the book this longed-for end cannot come. It is not in itself inconceivable or even improbable that a Christian apocalyptist should have made use of such a scene. Whether he did or not, it is evident that he intends to picture the exaltation of Christ to the right hand of God as due to his sacrificial death, and as demonstrated by his power to know and to bring to pass God's purposes regarding the end.

The magical book

The vision has a consoling and encouraging message for those who are enduring persecution, for it teaches that present events, however trying, are only Christ's fulfilment of God's purposes, and can therefore only lead in the end to the rescue and glory of Christ's servants.

Practical value of the vision

The question how the writer pictured the book with

[1] Gunkel, p. 62 f.

The form of the book

seven seals has been much discussed, and cannot be answered with confidence. It seems on the whole most probable that the book was a roll, and that all seven seals along the edge must be loosed before the parchment could be unrolled. Something happens, to be sure, with the breaking of each seal, but it is not said that a part of the book is opened and read. What happened was rather the appearance on the scene of vision of the various actors in the last things, and not until the seventh seal is opened do the preliminary judgments begin.

2. *The Vision of God, From Whom Are All Things* (4)

Ecstasy, and the vision of God's throne (1–3)

After this I saw, as did Ezekiel,[1] an open heaven, and the same voice that spoke to me before summoned me up to see the future. I was at once in an ecstatic condition, and beheld a throne in heaven and the one that sat on it, who can only be likened to jewels surrounded by a rainbow. Around the central throne was a court of twenty-four angel beings, crowned and sitting on thrones like princes, dressed in white like priests. As at Sinai,[2] so here the presence of God manifested itself in the form of tempest. Seven lamps typified the seven divine spirits.[3] Before the throne of God stretched the blue sky like a transparent sea.[4] Amid and about the throne were the four

The twenty-four elders, seven spirits, and four living beings

[1] Ezek. 1 : 1. [2] *E.g.*, Ex. 19 : 16.
[3] Not, as in 1 : 20, the seven churches.
[4] See Ex. 24 : 10; Ezek. 1 : 22, En. 14 : 9–10.

cherubim which Ezekiel saw.[1] They had, however, six wings like the seraphim of Isaiah's vision, and uttered unceasingly the same cry, Holy, Holy, Holy is God the Almighty.[2] The twenty-four angelic kings and priests bowed before God, and renouncing all glory of their own worshipped him as absolute creator. The elders praise God as supreme (9–11)

3. *The Vision of Christ, Through Whom Are All Things* (5)

On God's right hand I saw a book-roll, written as was Ezekiel's,[3] on the outside as well as on the inside of the parchment. It was sealed with seven seals, so that before the book could be unrolled and read, all the seven seals must be loosed. This book, which contained the secret but determined course of the future, could not be opened by any angel or man. I, eager to know the future, and to have the end hastened, mourned at its impenetrable mystery, but was assured by one of the angel priest-rulers that the Messiah had victoriously achieved the power to open the book, and so to know and bring to pass the destined future. Then I saw, not one like the expected Jewish Messiah, a lion-like conqueror, but one like a lamb, with throat cut as if for sacrifice. Yet this gentle and suffering one was endowed with perfect power and perfect divine knowledge. It is he alone that has power to know and even to accomplish the execution of the divine will. Then all the heavenly host, even the most exalted, acknowledged

The sealed book which none can open (1–3)

The seer weeps, but is reassured (4–5)

Vision of the Messiah Jesus (6–7)

[1] Ezek. 1: 5–21; 10: 1–22. [2] Isa. 6: 2–3. [3] Ezek. 2: 9–10.

He is praised by the angel host (8–14)

his right, just because of his death and its universal redeeming effect, to open the book of God's future purposes. To him, therefore, praise is rendered as to God by the angelic hosts, and even by those who are nearest God's throne, as well as by all created things.

IV

VISIONS OF THE FIRST STAGES OF THE COMING JUDGMENT

1. *Significance of the Six Seals*

Further actors in the last things

It is not clear what relation exists between the opening of the seals of the book and that which the prophet sees and hears. We do not have a progressive unfolding of the future as if the book were being read. Indeed, if the book could not be opened until the seven seals were all loosened we should not expect positive disclosures to follow the loosening of the first six. In fact, these only bring visions of further actors in the drama. Having seen God who accomplishes all and Christ who alone has power to know and reveal all things, and to be God's agent in their realization, the seer now beholds a series of destructive agencies through which God's judgments against evil are to be brought to pass. Wars and famine and pestilence, the prayers of the wronged for vengeance, and earthquake shocks, the terror of which these cities had known—these are the instruments of the divine wrath.

The four horsemen

The first four seals are so distinct in character, and have such obvious relationship to the four horsemen of Zechariah's vision [1] that it is possible that in some source of which our author made use they stood alone. It is tempting to think that the original close was: "And there was given to each of them authority over a fourth of the earth to kill with bow and with sword and with famine and with pestilence" (see v. 8b). In Zechariah 6 : 5 they are identified with the four winds, messengers of God who bring him news of the world, agents of his omniscience, and perhaps also fulfillers of his will. This conception seems to be still in the background of our writer's thought when the delay of God's judgment is figured as a restraining of the four winds (7 : 1; cf. 9 : 14, 15). It may not be accidental also that the four horsemen are summoned forth by the four living creatures,[2] behind whom in Ezekiel the four winds are still discernible. This, however, explains only the figure, not its meaning. The four horsemen are more completely removed from this mythological origin than in Zechariah, and have become simple poetic imagery. They are clearly interpreted as signifying four of the powers of evil which, especially in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, are chief agents in God's retributive judgments.[3]

[1] Zech. 6 : 1–8; 1 : 8–11. [2] See also 6 : 6.

[3] Jer. 15 : 2–3; 24 : 10; 29 : 17–18; 42 : 17; 44 : 13; Ezek. 5 : 12, 17; 14 : 21; 33 : 27. In the summary in v. 8 the wild beasts are added as frequently in the prophetic passages, here possibly with reference to gladiatorial contests.

Efficacy of martyr prayers

The fifth seal pictures the reality and efficacy of the prayers of the persecuted and of martyrs. The Old Testament contains various expressions of this idea, either in literal form [1] or in a realistic and in some sense figurative way. Uncovered blood is thought to cry to God for vengeance.[2] In the blood was the soul (Lev. 17 : 11, etc.), and so beneath the altar, where the blood flowed, the souls of the slain are seen praying for vengeance. Elsewhere angels are thought to convey such prayers to God and secure their hearing,[3] a thought which meets us in Revelation 5 : 8; 8 : 3–5. The latter passage shows in how real a sense the prayers of the oppressed were instruments of punishment against oppressors.

The souls of the martyred dead are pictured as under the altar. This is the first mention of an altar apparently in heaven, but later on (ch. 8) the temple scenery displaces that of a heavenly court (ch. 4). Perhaps we should not suppose that the writer is describing the literal place of the abode of the righteous dead before resurrection, but rather that he is picturing his faith in the final efficacy of their prayers in a form familiar to apocalyptical writers (see 2 Esd. 4 : 35–37).

[1] Ex. 22 : 23 f.; Deut. 15 : 9; 24 : 15; Ecclus. 35 : 13 ff.; cf. James 5 : 4.
[2] Gen. 4 : 10; Ezek. 24 : 7 f.; Job 16 : 18; cf. Enoch 22 : 5–7.
[3] Zech. 1 : 12; Tob. 12 : 12, 15; Enoch 9; 15 : 2, etc.

2. *The Six Destructive Powers* (6)

When Christ opened the first seal one of the four living beings, with a voice like a peal of thunder, summoned forth a white horse and his rider, representing a royal and conquering nation that fights with a bow (the Parthians?). A vision of war (6 : 1–2)

At the opening of the second seal I heard the second living creature summon forth a red horse and his rider, representing another warlike nation, which fights with a sword (the Roman?), and destroys the peace of the earth. A second vision of war (6 : 3–4)

The opening of the third seal and the summons of the third creature brought before me the vision of a black horse and a rider holding balances in his hand, symbolizing dearth and famine. A vision of famine (6 : 5–6)

At the opening of the fourth seal and the call of the fourth creature I saw a pale horse and its rider, signifying death, to which a fourth of the earth was given. A vision of pestilence (6 : 7–8)

When the fifth seal was opened, I saw under the altar the souls of the martyrs praying for vengeance on those who shed their blood. They were assured that their prayers would be answered after a little while, when the number of martyrs should be filled up. A vision of the prayers of martyrs (6 : 9–11)

At the opening of the sixth seal I saw an earthquake, so great and terrible that it involved nothing less than the overthrow of earth and heaven. At this all (seven) classes of men, from the highest to the lowest were filled with dismay. This was the coming day of Jehovah, which A vision of earthquake (6 : 12–17)

Isaiah and many prophets after him had described in the imagery of storm and earthquake and volcano. Now it is come in its unescapable and irresistible might.[1]

3. *Anticipations in Forms Old and New*

Before the opening of the seventh seal, for the strengthening of faith before the fearful and protracted tribulations still to come, John has two visions of the safe-keeping and final blessedness of faithful Christians. The two appear to be inharmonious with each other. In one (7 : 1–8) a definite number of Jews are sealed before the coming of evil in order to be kept from it, a conception like that of Ezekiel 9 : 4 ff.; in the other (7 : 9–17), a countless number from all nations have come through trials to heavenly blessedness. It is quite certain, however, that the first vision—probably of Jewish origin, and originally taken in a somewhat literal sense—is for our author a figure, and means for him that the whole perfect number of those who make up the people of God, the true Christians, who are in our writer's view the only true Jews, will be kept from all real evil in the coming judgments. This does not necessarily mean, however, that they will escape physical death; and the second vision pictures the coming glory of those who are faithful unto death. In spite of appear-

[1] See *e.g.*, Isa. 2 : 12–22 ; Zeph. 1 : 14 ff. ; Joel 2 : 30–31 ; 3 : 15–16. Notice that we have in this sixth seal practically a description of the last judgment itself.

ances, it seems probable that the writer did not mean to say that the true Christian kernel of Israel would have a first place and separate significance in the consummation, and that to them the multitudes of heathen converts would be added as proselytes. We have rather two forms furnished in part by tradition, for expressing one hope for the one body of Christian believers, who form both the true Israel and an innumerable company from all nations. It is a vision of the future, not of the present heavenly blessedness of those already dead. Nothing in the closing chapters of the book surpasses this picture of the consummation, and it is introduced so early for its practical power to encourage faithfulness. If 6 : 12–17, introducing the earthquake as one of the agents of God's judgment, really describes the last judgment itself by anticipation, so 7 : 9–17 anticipates the final blessedness. It is a very natural suggestion that the opening of the seventh seal (8 : 1) originally stood before 7 : 1 or 7 : 9, and that the seals once formed a complete and independent apocalypse. Our writer would then have postponed the opening of the seventh seal in order to make room for more detailed pictures of the judgment which he wished to make use of. This supposition is not, however, necessary. Chapter 7 serves a good purpose as it stands, with its confident and bright hopes set over against the threatening judgment, between the description of the destructive powers and the beginning of their activity.

Although the seer now beholds the vast multitude of martyred saints in heaven, yet we must understand that the vision concerns the future. No such host of martyrs had as yet fallen victims to Rome, and those who had died must await the resurrection (6 : 9 ff.; 20 : 4 f.). Even with reference to the final consummation this introduction of the unnumbered host of the redeemed directly into the heavenly scene described in chapter 4 is striking. We must remember that in general in the Jewish mind heaven was not the future abode of the righteous dead, but a new earth, of heavenly origin and character.[1]

4. *The Salvation of the Faithful* (7)

(1) *The Safety of the Saints* (7 : 1–8)

Safeguarding of the true Israel (7 : 1–8)

Then I saw that the forces of destruction were to be restrained until all true Christians should be marked as belonging to God, that they might be safe. This truth came to me in the imagery which Ezekiel used,[2] and the body of true Christians seemed to me to compose the true and perfect Israel to whom the promises of God, especially through Ezekiel,[3] were made.

(2) *The Heavenly Bliss of Martyrs* (7 : 9–17)

Vision of saints in heaven (7 : 9–10)

Then I saw a vast number, not from the literal Israel only, but from all nations, standing before God and Christ

[1] In Enoch 40 : 1 the countless multitudes whom the seer beholds in heaven are angels, as in Rev. 5 : 11; Dan. 7 : 10; Matt. 26 : 53.

[2] Ezek. 9. [3] Ezek. 47 : 13–48 : 35.

in heaven, and praising them. All angels joined in a seven-fold ascription of praise. One of the twenty-four angel-princes then told me that the multitudes whom I beheld were the Christians who had been faithful unto death, martyrs after the example and by the power of Christ; and that they now serve God in his very presence, where, in fulfilment of Old Testament promises (Isa. 49 : 10; 25 : 8), they are without want or sorrow, under the safe protection of God, with the life-giving leadership and companionship of Christ.

in whose praises angels join (7 : 11–12)

They are the vast multitude of Christian martyrs in heavenly bliss (7 : 13–17)

5. *The Imagery of Earthquake and Volcano*

Since the book-roll could contain nothing less than the complete account of God's purposes, its contents, which the opening of the seventh seal must make known and bring to effect, cannot include less than the remainder of our book. The opening of this seal (8 : 1) is therefore not the end of the apocalypse of the seals, which is followed by the apocalypse of the trumpets. On the contrary, its contents, or the contents of the book now opened, begin to be made evident by the trumpets. The six trumpets signify the beginnings of evils. Of five of them it is expressly said that they involve the destruction of but one-third of nature or of mankind. They should have produced repentance in the rest, but failed of this purpose. The seventh trumpet, it is declared, will bring the final and completed judgments of God (10 : 7). Its contents must

The six trumpets bring partial judgments

therefore include all that follows after 11 : 15. It is to be noticed that as the first four seals are distinct from the rest, so the last three trumpets are separated from the others, and introduced as three "woes."

The volcanic island, Santorin

The imagery of the first four trumpets is volcanic in origin, and the description can be matched almost throughout by the actual phenomena of the eruptions of the island volcano, Santorin, about eighty miles southwest of Patmos. It is not impossible that John may have seen the smoke of the eruptions, and heard from fugitives how fiery blasts destroyed vegetation; how sulphurous vapors killed the fish in the sea, and blinded and killed men; how masses of molten rock fell into the sea; how the waters were reddened as if by blood; how islands rose and sank again.[1] But apart from this possibility, volcanic phenomena were familiar in all that region. They are frequently used in such poetic or prophetic ways in the Old Testament.

Was the earthquake simply a figure?

The question how far the writer expected the literal earthquake and volcano to bring about these preparatory judgments, and how far he used such language in a figurative sense to suggest events and forces of a supernatural character, is hard to answer. The cities of Asia Minor, to which he wrote, had several of them been destroyed by earthquake. What more natural means could be imagined for the trial judgments, or even for the final destruction

[1] See J. T. Bent, *What St. John Saw in Patmos.* Nineteenth Century, 1888, pp. 813–21. and Fouqué, *Santorin et ses éruptions*, 1879.

of Roman cities and of Rome itself? Yet a poetical use of the earthquake is suggested by the fact that it alternates with invasion and war as a means of bringing Roman rule to an end. The fifth trumpet begins as a volcano, somewhat supernaturalized, but its eruptions are locusts of demoniacal character and powers, and these again seem to symbolize armies of cavalry. On the other hand, the sixth trumpet begins with warriors, but the powers by which the horses kill men are the volcanic powers of fire and smoke and brimstone.

6. *The Six Partial Judgments* (8–9)

The seventh seal and the seven angels (8:1–2)

The opening of the seventh seal was followed by an ominous silence. Then seven angels[1] appear and receive seven trumpets.

The efficacy of the prayers of the saints (8:3–5)

Before the trumpets sound it was made plain to me how the prayers of the saints for vengeance, offered to God by angelic priestly mediation, became the cause of the manifestation of God's judicial power upon earth.

The plague of the earth (8:6–7)

At the blowing of the first trumpet a fiery hail, like the seventh Egyptian plague (Ex. 9:23 f.), burned up one-third of the land with its vegetation.

The plague of the sea (8:8–9)

At the second, a mass of fire fell into the sea so that one-third of it became blood,[2] and a third of the fish and of the ships that were therein were destroyed.

[1] "The seven angels" appear as if well known, though not seen in earlier visions, unless they are the same as the seven spirits of 1:4; 4:5; 5:6.

[2] Cf. the first Egyptian plague, Ex. 7:14–21.

The plague of fresh waters (8 : 10–11)

The third trumpet brought a burning star from heaven which poisoned the rivers and springs of fresh water, so that men died who drank of them.

The plague of the heavenly bodies (8 : 12)

The fourth darkened a third of the sun, moon and stars, and a third of the light of day and of night failed.[1]

Greater calamities are to follow (8 : 13)

An angel declares that the remaining three trumpets are three woes.

The plague from the underworld (9 : 1–12)

When the fifth angel blew his trumpet an angel-star fell to earth and opened the abyss, from which a darkening smoke came forth, and out of the smoke, locusts whose power, like that of scorpions, was used not against vegetation but against non-Christian men, not to kill them but to torture them for a prolonged period, until they long in vain for death. These locusts, like those in Joel's prophecy looked like war-horses, but they had crowns on their heads, and human faces, and women's hair, and lions' teeth.[2] They were clad in armor, and the sound of their coming was like that of a charge.[3] It was their tails that had the scorpion-like power to torture men. In truth these beings, who seemed to me to combine the terrors of a volcanic eruption, a plague of locusts such as Moses brought upon Egypt (Ex. 10 : 12–15), and such as Joel describes (1 : 2–2 : 11), and an assault of wild hordes of mounted warriors, were more than any earthly and human plague. They were demon powers of the under-world, ruled by

[1] Cf. the ninth plague, Ex. 10 : 21–23. [2] Joel 2 : 4–5; 1 : 6.
[3] Joel 2 : 5.

him who personifies that realm of death and perdition. Such is the first woe.

When the sixth trumpet was sounded I heard a voice from God's presence commanding the angel who blew the trumpet to loose the four angels that were bound at the Euphrates, once the land of the Assyrians and Babylonians, now of the dreaded Parthians, and were destined for this hour. These (wind?) angels signified hostile nations, for when they were loosed,[1] myriads (200,000,000) of cavalry appeared, and one-third of mankind were killed, not by the arrows or swords of the riders, but by fire and smoke and brimstone, volcanic agencies, which came from the mouths of the horses, whose tails also have power to do injury.[2] Yet the men who were not thus destroyed did not repent, but continued to worship demons and idols and to practise all manner of immorality. These partial judgments will therefore prove ineffectual. The plague of men (9: 13–21)

[1] Perhaps an old tradition about the loosing of the four destructive winds is alluded to here, as in 7 : 1–3, and now interpreted of the expected Parthian invasion. Some such idea is already present in En. 56 : 5–6.

[2] So that the Parthians, although a historical danger, take on a demoniac character.

V

VISIONS OF THE LAST STAGES OF THE COMING JUDGMENT

1. *The Prophet's New Commission* (10)

The sounding of the seventh trumpet, which, like the seventh seal, must contain all that follows, is not, we may safely say, deferred for the sake of an unrelated interlude or excursus, but rather introduced in especially solemn fashion by two passages, one of which describes the prophet's experience in receiving the remaining revelations, and the other gives fresh assurance of salvation to those who keep the faith. In the first of these introductory passages it is explained that the writer's departure from the regular scheme of seven-fold visions was not unintentional, since he was expressly forbidden to write the vision of seven thunders which next appeared to him, and was given instead a new book of prophecies which he was charged to declare, the form of its communication being shaped after Ezekiel 2 : 8–3 : 3.

The angel and the book (10: 1–2)

I was again upon earth and beheld an angel of dazzling and splendid appearance, not unlike that of Christ himself (cf. 1 : 15–16), coming down from heaven with a little book open in his hand. Colossal in size, he stood with one foot on the earth and one on the sea, and uttered a great

cry. I heard seven thunders, but was forbidden by a voice from heaven from writing their contents. The angel solemnly swore that the end would be no longer delayed,[1] but that the blowing of the seventh trumpet would bring the fulfilment of the predictions of the prophets. The voice from heaven commanded me to take the little book from the angel's hand. I took it and ate it, as he bade me. I found it, as Ezekiel did,[2] sweet at first to receive the words of God, but as I pondered them I found them hard, for they were words such as Jeremiah was called to utter,[3] of denunciation and woe against many peoples.

The seven thunders (10 : 3–4)

The angel's oath (10 : 5–8)

The eating of the book (10 : 9–11)

2. *Jewish Oracles and their Christian Use*

In 11 : 1–13 it is especially necessary to distinguish between the original sense of the figures and our writer's use of them. It is quite evident that he has used fragments of Jewish apocalyptical tradition in order to express, by figure, the Christian hope. There seem to be two more or less distinct fragments here, verses 1–2 and 3–13. The former must have been written before 70 A. D., by a Jewish seer who believed that Jerusalem was to fall into the hands of the Romans, but that the temple and those who took refuge in it would escape. To our author, writing

A Jewish oracle of about 70 A. D.

[1] Cf. Dan. 12 : 7. The other rendering "there shall be time no longer" might suggest the idea of Secrets of Enoch 33 : 2 ; 65 : 7–8, that there is no reckoning of time in the coming age. Cf. En. 91 : 17.

[2] Ezek. 3 : 3 ; cf. Jer. 15 : 16. [3] Jer. 1 : 10.

long after the fall of the temple, the passage is a symbolical expression of the faith that the true worshippers of God, that is, Christians, would escape harm in the approaching world judgments. The measuring off of the temple and altar is equivalent to the sealing of the 144,000 in 7 : 1–8, which is also an originally Jewish oracle.

Fragment of an apocalypse of Antichrist

The prophetic ministry, the martyrdom and the resurrection of the two witnesses (11 : 3–13) is another fragment of a Jewish apocalypse. It does not seem to be closely related to 11 : 1–2, for though the length of the ministry of the witnesses is the same as that of the occupation of Jerusalem by the Gentiles, the events, which culminate in the destruction of one-tenth of the city by earthquake (v. 13), do not suggest the situation described in verse 2. The Jews expected the return of Elijah, on the basis of Malachi 4 : 5–6,[1] and the return of Moses might have been hoped for because of Deuteronomy 18 : 15, 18,[2] and the current legend that he too had not really died.[3] Indeed the coming and preaching of all those who had not tasted death, among whom were Ezra and Baruch, as well as Enoch, is expected according to Second Esdras (6 : 26) and the Apocalypse of Baruch (13 : 5 ; 24 : 2 ; 25 : 1).

Now early Christian apocalyptical traditions regarding the Antichrist relate how Enoch and Elijah are to come to

[1] Mk. 6 : 15 ; 8 : 28 ; 9 : 11–13 ; Matt. 11 : 14 ; Jn. 1 : 21, 25.
[2] Matt. 21 : 11 ; Jn. 1 : 21, 25 ; 6 : 14 ; 7 : 40.
[3] See Deut. 34 : 6, and the title of the book the *Assumption of Moses.*

expose the falsehoods of Antichrist, and deliver men from his wiles. He will slay them, but God or his angels Michael and Gabriel will raise them up.[1] It seems probable that we have in Revelation 11 a fragment of an earlier Jewish form of this tradition, so that the beast (v. 7) was Antichrist, and the testimony and miracle-working of the witnesses were directed against him.

The common early Christian view was that "Enoch and Elijah were translated, nor were they found dead, but their death deferred, though they are reserved to die ; that they may extinguish the Antichrist in their blood." [2] Why it is that here and in the account of the transfiguration Moses appears in the place of Enoch we do not know, unless it be that Moses and Elijah, as the representatives of Law and Prophecy, more perfectly stood for the complete testimony of Judaism to the truth of Christianity.

Practical use of these materials

The purpose of these two fragments is, like that of chapter 7, to encourage true Christians by the promise of their deliverance from the coming evils if they persist in their faithful Christian testimony even, if need be, to death.

3. *The Salvation of Saints and Martyrs* (11 : 1–13)

a. The Safety of True Worshippers of God (11 : 1–2)

I saw in vision that great as were the evils which the book of prophecy contained, true Christians would not be

[1] Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, ch. xiv. [2] Tertullian, *de Anima*.

Safe-keeping of the saints (11 : 1–2)

harmed by them. This is the truth beneath the mistaken confidence of the Jews in the inviolable security of their temple, even if the city fell into heathen hands for the short period fixed by Daniel's prophecy.[1]

b. The Work and Reward of Martyrs (11 : 3–13)

The work of the martyrs (11 : 3–6)

I would encourage you to faithfulness even unto death by the example of the two well-known typical martyrs of current Jewish tradition. During the whole period, three years and a half, of the rule of the heathen these two shall prophesy, in raiment typifying their sombre message. These are the two of whom Zechariah wrote,[2] who are by pre-eminence the men of God. They are kept from destruction during the time of their ministry by a miraculous power to repel danger. They are known, by their exercise of the powers that marked them of old, to be Elijah and Moses. After their witness has been completely given they are to be killed by the demon power of evil,[3] and will lie unburied for the same number of days as the years of the reign of evil, in Jerusalem, that city of evil name, while men of all nations look at them and laugh, and congratulate one another. Then God will bring them to life, to the terror of men, and they will ascend to heaven in sight of their enemies, while an earthquake destroys

Their death by Antichrist (7–10)

Their resurrection and ascension (11–12)

[1] Dan. 7 : 25 ; 12 : 7.

[2] Zech. 4 : 2–3, 11–14.

[3] The Antichrist seems to have been a superhuman being, an agent of Satan, endowed with his powers.

one-tenth of the city and seven thousand men. The rest in terror will acknowledge God. Such is the victory in the end of the faithful witnesses of God, however great the power and temporary triumph of evil may be. Let this give you heart as I disclose to you the last and worst evils that are about to come, the bitter contents of the little book.

Judgment on the wicked city (13)

4. *A Heavenly Song Anticipating the Victory of God* (11 : 14–19)

In chapters 12–20 we have the description of the warfare of Satan, especially through his chief agent the Roman empire, against the Christian community, and the final overthrow of Rome and of Satan himself and all his forces. It is evident that this whole section is introduced by 11 : 14–19, as the seventh trumpet, or the third woe. The general plan of these chapters is plain. The actors are introduced. Satan, the source of all evil (12), and his agent, Rome, the empire and the imperial cultus (13). The judgments upon Rome form the main theme of chapters 14–19, and the judgment upon Satan that of chapter 20. Then follows the consummation (21–22) which was anticipated in the prelude of the section (11 : 15–17).

The seventh angel blew his trumpet, that "last trump," [1] which is to bring the end (10 : 7). The end is indeed so sure and so near that heavenly hosts and the twenty-four

Heavenly voices announce the victory of God and Christ (11 : 14–19)

[1] Cf. 1 Thes. 4 : 16 ; 1 Cor. 15 : 52.

angel-kings, leaping over the judgments by which the end is to be brought about, break forth in celebration of it as of something already accomplished, as if God and Christ were already reigning over the world, their enemies destroyed and their servants rewarded. Then the heavenly temple was opened, and the ark, lost to Israel when its first temple fell,[1] was seen ; and as of old the immediate presence of God was manifested by the phenomena of storm,[2] suggesting that the coming of God brings destruction to all that are opposed to him.

5. *The Figure of the Dragon, the Woman and the Child*

The present meaning of the figures of the dragon, the woman and the child

The distinction between the original meaning of the figurative material here used, and our writer's meaning in the use of it is as important as in 11 : 1–13, and much more difficult. We may suppose the writer's purpose to have been something like this : Satan is the real power behind the throne of Rome, the ultimate source of the present sufferings of Christians and peril to Christianity. There is a reason for the intensity of his present efforts against the Christian community, a reason which yields a hope. He has already been overcome in heaven, his overthrow being in some way connected with the birth and resurrection of Christ. This means that he not only no longer accuses men before God, but that his end is near. It is because he knows this that he is the more fierce in his assaults upon

[1] See 2 Mac. 2 : 1–8 ; Apoc. of Baruch 6 : 7–10. [2] Ex. 19 : 16, 18.

Christ's followers, but if Christians also know it they can resist and endure his violence waiting with confidence for his approaching overthrow.

Origin of the figurative material

These thoughts, preparing men both for severe trials and for endurance in view of an assured and speedy deliverance, the seer expresses in figures which he certainly did not create for the purpose, but borrowed and more or less adapted. If we could know where he found them and to what extent he modified them, we should be able to solve the problem which the chapter presents. The Old Testament furnishes but slight analogy. There were, however, Babylonian and Egyptian and Greek sun-myths with which this material quite certainly stands in some relation. According to the Babylonian myth, creation was effected by Marduk, the god of light, who conquered Tiamat, the dragon of the waters. There is some probability that if we ever find the account of the birth of Marduk we shall read a story like that of this chapter about the persecution of his goddess mother by the dragon, who knows that her child is to be his destroyer. At all events the Egyptian story of the birth of Horus, and the Greek account of the birth of Apollos, whose mother was persecuted by the dragon, Pytho, seem more closely related to this imagery than anything in Jewish traditions. The mother is a goddess (12 : 1),[1] the dragon is a water monster (12 : 15),

[1] The sun, moon, and twelve constellations of the zodiac were the supreme heavenly beings, according to Babylonian tradition.

from whom escape is found in the wilderness, and the whole picture has a cosmic range and an unmistakably mythological background. In the sun-myth, however, the dragon tries to kill the mother before the child's birth, and she flees in order to rescue her child. Changes have been freely made in the story to adapt it to Christian use, and it is not improbable that it was shaped by a Jewish hand first. We can be quite sure that we see here traditional materials that have gone through various modifications even though we cannot retrace the process with confidence.

A possible history of the growth of the material

Its mythological origin

Let me give a *possible* history of the material, which may illustrate the nature of the process even though it does not exactly restore it. There was first in Babylonia, and more or less independently elsewhere, a myth of creation, which told of the aggressive power of the dragon of chaos against the older gods, of the birth of the sun-god, who is rescued by his mother's flight from the assaults of the dragon, and who, when he grows to maturity, overcomes and binds, or destroys the dragon, and cutting him in two, makes of his parts heaven and earth. This story is built up out of the partial creation which is effected each year in a region like Babylonia, when the sun, born in the winter solstice almost overwhelmed by the darkness and cold, finally attains strength to dispel the clouds and dry up the floods and bring forth order and beauty and life.

Then perhaps the Babylonians, certainly the Jews,

made of this picture of creation, a picture of the new creation for which they hoped. God would make the last things like the first.[1] The dragon represents the power of evil not now in nature, but in history; the ruling kingdoms under whom Israel suffers, and whose dominance, which is really that of Satan, stands in the way of the Messianic age, the age of Israel's rule, which is the rule of God. The divine conqueror of this evil ruler of the world could be regarded by Jews as Michael, the angelic representative and champion of the nation, or as the Messiah; or both could have part in the victory, Michael overcoming the spirit power of evil in heaven, and Messiah the earthly kingdom in which Satan's power was embodied. The birth and rescue of the Messiah could mark the time when Michael must make war against the dragon and cast him out of heaven; while the Messiah grown to manhood could be the conqueror of the world kingdom. The traditional element of the persecution of the woman could easily be applied to the sufferings of the nation Israel, the mother of the Messiah,[2] while waiting for his return from heaven where he is hidden, so that her flight was now made to follow the birth of her son. On the other hand, the description of the woman as a goddess could be retained for its appeal to the imagination, and the more easily because the twelve stars, originally perhaps the twelve

Its Jewish development

[1] Barnabas 6 : 18.

[2] Compare 2 Esd. 9 : 38–10 : 59.

constellations of the zodiac, fitted Israel with its twelve tribes, and are so used in Genesis 37 : 9, 10.

The present Christian form

If Jewish writing or tradition had made some such use of the figure, perhaps finally in connection with the Roman wars (about 70 A. D.), the later Christian writer could adapt it to his purpose with little change. It might be due to him rather than to the Jew that the casting of Satan out of heaven follows the birth of the Messiah ; for Christians gave such significance for the overthrow of angelic powers of evil to Christ,[1] and there is some evidence that our author changed the order of material in his sources. It is quite evident that verses 13–16 were originally a variant form of verse 6 ; and it seems hardly possible that our author himself intended to describe two flights to the same place for the same length of time. Again, verses 7–9 seem to give a fuller account of verse 4. In this case we may suppose that the Christian writer wished to put the actual expulsion of Satan from heaven after the birth and ascension of Christ, as in some way due to him. But perhaps he put together two accounts of the dragon's assault upon the woman without adjusting them, because each contained elements that he found useful ; the first, the birth of the divine-human king and saviour, the second, heaven's riddance of Satan's presence, and the significance of this for man, now and hereafter—greater tribulation now, surer deliverance hereafter.

[1] Cf. Jn. 12 : 31 ; 14 : 30 ; 16 : 11–33 ; 1 Jn. 3 : 8 ; Col. 2 : 15.

Originally we must suppose a story without the present repetitions, and the confusion of heavenly and earthly scenes (vv. 1–6). For example, in the original Jewish form it may be that we should read first of the wars in heaven, in which the dragon is cast down to earth and in his fall draws one-third of the angel host with him ;[1] then of his wars on earth with the woman who bears the son, in which the child is rescued and taken to heaven and the mother flees and escapes, while the dragon returns to make war with the remainder of her seed.[2] It might have been the Christian writer who wished to give an earlier and higher part in the drama to the Messiah, and so puts his birth before the dragon's overthrow in heaven. But it is verse 11 that reveals the meaning of the whole figure to our writer. The victory of Christian faith over the persecutions of the evil kingdom, even over martyrdom, is the literal fact which Michael's conquest of the dragon and the escape of child and mother symbolize.

Relation of the Jewish and Christian versions

The writer then used such traditional materials, of heathen parentage and perhaps of Jewish adoption, in the same free and more or less poetic way as that in which he used Old Testament figures in chapters 1, 4, 5, etc., for the expression of his one message of patience and courage in Christian faith and confession amid present and greater coming persecutions from Rome. It is evident, therefore, how mistaken is the effort to find a Christian

[1] Vv. 3, 7–9, 4[a]. [2] Vv. 1 (?), 2, 4[b]–6=13–17.

meaning in all the details of the figure, and to go into any other time than the writer's present in search for the events to which the figures refer.[1]

We do not know enough to affirm that this traditional material went through just the process of growth we have described, but we do know enough to say that the material was in part traditional, and that the explanation of such details as do not apply to the writer's present is to be looked for in the traditions that lay behind him, not in the events that lay before him, in succeeding history. In many cases we may safely suppose that he left the traditional features as he found them, not because he had a clear view of their meaning, or a definite application of them to the present situation, but because they belonged to the story for which as a whole he had a use, or because they appealed to his feelings as poetically or rhetorically impressive.

The escape of the woman, and persecution of her seed

Although we know the general meaning of the chapter to our writer and do not feel obliged to find his purpose in all its details, yet it would seem as if he must have had a purpose in the concluding verses where he describes the escape of the woman from the dragon, and his turning against "the rest of her seed," that is, faithful Christians. The question might be asked whether the woman who

[1] See Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895), and Wellhausen's *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi., pp. 215 ff. On these two discussions the views given above are largely based.

escapes is the true Israel, that is, the original Jewish-Christian church, which escaped destruction in the fall of Jerusalem (70 A. D.) by timely flight, while the rest of her seed are the Christian churches of the dispersion who are still suffering persecution. Perhaps it is enough to say that the escape of the woman to her place in the wilderness was given in the original myth, and had already been interpreted by Jews as meaning the escape, when Jerusalem fell, of the remnant which became the kernel of the new Judaism. Then verse 17 may describe either the fury of Rome against the Jews who remained in Jerusalem, or it may have been added by the Christian reviser, to refer to the present persecutions of Christians, from which escape was still future. In this case it is not impossible that just as Messiah's escape from the dragon was not deliverance from death, not the rescue from Herod's plots by flight into Egypt, but an escape through death and resurrection to heaven (v. 5 f.), so the escape of the woman to the place where she is to be cared for till the time of evil ends may have been taken by our Christian writer as the escape of the older generation of Christians by death from the present final rage of Satan.

6. *The Ultimate Power of Evil, Satan* (12)

A portent appeared in the sky, a woman in appearance like a goddess, queen of heaven. She cried out in the pains of childbirth. Another portent appeared, a great

Satan's vain attempt against the Messiah child (1–6)

red dragon bearing the marks of world rulership. In his fall from heaven one-third of the heavenly host were involved.[1] He stood ready to destroy the woman's child, who, he knew, was destined to dispossess him in the rule of the world. But the Messianic child was snatched up to God's throne and the woman escaped into the wilderness for the three and a half years of the dragon's remaining rule.[2]

Satan's expulsion from heaven (7–12)

Here are more details in regard to these events. The fall of the dragon from heaven [3] was the result of a war in which he and his angels assailed the throne of God and were repulsed by the angelic hosts under Michael, and cast down to earth. I heard a heavenly voice celebrating this victory and rejoicing that heaven was rid of the great accuser, who had always accused the righteous before God, as he was the first tempter and the constant deceiver of man. Yet Christian martyrs had overcome him by Christ's death and their own.[4] But that which is heaven's deliverance is earth's sorrow, for the devil will be the more fierce in his assaults upon men, knowing that his end is near.

[1] There is an allusion here to Dan. 8 : 10, but there the reference is to the efforts of Antiochus to put an end to various native religions. Here the language has the mythological, which must be the older, meaning of a literal fall of angels.

[2] As in 11 : 2–3. [3] Referred to in v. 4.

[4] This verse (11) is evidently an insertion applying the old mythological figures to the present situation, the persecution of Christians by Rome.

This was the reason for the dragon's fury against the woman. Her flight to the wilderness was supernaturally speeded. The attacks of the dragon also were miraculously averted. There she is safe for the three and a half times (years) of the dragon's power, and he can only turn against her other children, those faithful Christians who are still for a short time exposed to persecution. The persecution of those who belong to Christ (13–17)

7. *The King and the Priest in the Realm of Evil*

In the 12th chapter Satan is introduced and the explanation of his present power given, with the assurance of his speedy overthrow. Over against him is set the child who is destined to rule over the world in his place. In chapter 13 it is made evident that Rome is the agent through whom Satan now rules the world, and that the imperial cultus, the worship of the emperor, is the means by which that rule is made oppressive and offensive. Rome stands in the same relation to Satan as that in which the Christian community stands to Christ. The devil has given to Rome his authority over the world, as Christ will give his authority to his faithful followers.[1] Meaning of the two beasts

The difficulty of interpreting the figures of the two beasts arises from uncertainty as to the extent of the Christian writer's inventive originality. In his use of the figures they certainly signify the Roman empire and the imperial cultus. But various features in the description were fixed Origin of the application to Rome

[1] 2 : 26–27; cf. 1 : 6; 5 : 10; 20 : 4–6.

in a tradition which goes back at least to Daniel, where the four beasts, here reunited, were shaped to represent the four kingdoms of Chaldea, Medea, Persia, and Greece. Further, it is not unlikely that some Jewish writer had already applied the figure of the beast to Rome. The suggestion has been made, and is not without a measure of probability, that this was done in 39–40 A. D., when Caligula attempted to have his statue erected in the temple at Jerusalem, in revenge for the act of the Jews in destroying an altar to the emperor set up by the inhabitants of Jamnia. The wounding and healing of the head could then have referred to the serious illness, near the beginning of his reign, from which Caligula recovered; and the original number in verse 18 could have been 616,[1] which is the numerical value in Greek of Caligula's name, Gaius Cæsar.

Yet it must be said that the efforts of the provincial government, though a powerful priesthood, to enforce the worship of the emperors in Asia Minor, to which the chapter now unmistakably refers, could very well have been the original cause of this peculiar development of the ancient figure of the evil beast of the sea.

The wounded head

But although some features in the description of the first beast, especially verses 4–8, and the character and rôle of the second beast could have been shaped to describe the conditions that met the Christian communities of Asia Minor, the smiting of one of the seven heads would

[1] See Revised Version, margin.

seem to refer to some notable event in the history of Rome itself. It would be most fully accounted for if the death of one of the emperors by the sword (v. 14) had endangered the existence of the empire itself (cf. vv. 12, 14), especially if this stroke had fallen in an assault against the empire from without (see v. 4, end). The death of Julius Cæsar would satisfy most of these requirements. The first verses of the chapter need not refer to events of the writer's own time, but may rather be meant to describe the rise and character of the Roman Empire. A reference to so well known and significant an event as Cæsar's death, from the shock of which the empire rose to new strength, would serve admirably to identify the beast as Rome,[1] and to enhance wonder at its power.[2] Perhaps this characteristic of Rome that it had, as it were, been killed and come to new life and greater power is emphasized and repeated (vv. 12, 14) because it was analogous to the characteristic of Christ.

Is Nero referred to?

The verse is more commonly referred to the death of Nero, which was a violent death by suicide, and which ended the Julian dynasty and left the empire to a dangerous period of anarchy, from which, however, it recovered.[3]

[1] "The founding of the empire after the death of the first emperor is characteristic of Rome" (Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 355).

[2] It is even possible that in a Hebrew original the phrase "One of his heads" signified "the first of his heads." Cæsar was sometimes reckoned the first emperor (*e.g.*, 2 Esdr. 11:12 f.; 12:14 f.).

[3] Some think that the recovery is still future, and refers to the expected return of Nero to life. This would best account for the 3½ years during which

The verse does not, however, refer so naturally to Nero, and this interpretation would hardly have been urged if it had not been for other evidence that in the view of the writer or of his sources Nero is the embodiment of Rome's evil power. Such evidence has been found by many in the number 666 (v. 18), which is the numerical value of the Hebrew letters of Nero Cæsar.[1] There are some objections to this current interpretation of the number. It requires an unusual spelling of the word Cæsar. The usual spelling would yield 676. And it would seem more probable that the solution of the enigma was to be found in Greek rather than in Hebrew. Again, 666 is the number of the beast, not of one of its horns or heads, and the words "it is the number of a man" need not mean that the number signifies a man's name, but may mean, like the similar phrase in 21 : 17, that the number is to be reckoned in the usual human way. Accordingly, a very old solution, as old as Irenæus, though he does not adopt it, is the Greek word for "Latin," which, however, has to be written in an unusual if not wholly unused form (Lateinos, instead of Latinos). Better than this is a very recent suggestion by Professor Clemen of Halle, namely,

The number 666

the healed beast is to rule (v. 5), which is the set time of the rule of Antichrist; but it does not so well fit vv. 3–4, and the rest of the chapter.

[1] In Hebrew and in Greek the only numerals were the letters of the alphabet. Hence every word had a numerical value. It should be added that in a Latinized spelling the Hebrew of Nero Cæsar yields the number 616, which is found in some manuscripts.

The Latin kingdom (*he latine basileia*). It happens that "The Italian kingdom" gives the alternate reading, 616. It seems probable that these phrases could have been used in an apocalypse for the Roman empire. It has been argued, however, that the number must have been ancient in order to have the mysterious value our writer attributes to it. It should be the number of the ancient chaos dragon, and in fact a Hebrew phrase meaning "the chaos of old" yields the number 666 (Gunkel). Finally, the interesting suggestion has been made that the significance of the number to our writer lay in his discovery that the ancient number of the beast is *also* "the number of a man," for example, that it means not only "the chaos of old," but also Nero Cæsar. The man who bears the number has appeared. He is to be known as the last foe of God and the saints by the number of his name; and his appearance with this mark of identification, is evidence that the end is at hand.[1]

Though the last suggestion is not an improbable one, yet it need not be doubted that in part the significance of the number lay in itself. This is not inconsistent with the views just presented. A name for the power of evil would be sought that would yield a number of symmetry and ideal significance. Three sixes might suggest a persistent failure to reach the perfect number, seven, as the three eights which are the numerical value

[1] P. Corssen.

of the Greek name, Jesus, suggested his surpassing perfection.[1]

Whatever we may now guess as to the number we may rest assured that it is the past and not the future that hides the mystery of its meaning.

The mark of the beast

Another much disputed matter is the mark of the beast which must be put on the hand or forehead of everyone as a condition of buying and selling, that is of taking part in the necessary business of life. Commercial papers (papyri) of this period have recently been discovered which are attested by an imperial stamp, and it has been suggested that the use of this stamp seemed to our writer idolatrous, and that by a bold figure he declared that those who made use of it received, as it were, the stamp of Rome on their very persons.[2] Perhaps, however, the writer is not here describing things as they are, but is, from verse 15 on, predicting more terrible and diabolical doings of the Roman government than he has yet actually experienced, especially the actual giving of life to the images of the emperors, and compelling everyone literally to have the name of the emperor branded on his forehead or hand, as the name of the master was branded on the slave. This compulsory stigmatization was expected, it is said, because of the growing passion and enthusiasm of the populace for the imperial cultus.[3]

[1] Irenæus, v. 28, 2, says that the six hundreds, six tens and six units signify a summing up of all the apostasy of the six thousand years of world history.

[2] See Deissmann's *Bible Studies*, pp. 241 ff.

[3] J. Weiss, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, pp. 15 ff.

8. *The Agents of Satan, the Roman Empire and Cultus* (13)

As the dragon[1] stood by the sea-shore, I saw a beast come up out of the sea, who had the same marks of world rulership as the dragon himself. It was the symbol, or the demoniacal representative, or counterpart, of the Roman empire, the names of whose rulers, since they demand worship, are blasphemous names. It united in its powers and in its appearance the features of the four beasts of Daniel's vision, and was terrible as those four empires combined. It received world rulership from him who really possesses it, the dragon, Satan. One of the seven heads seemed to be slain, but the stroke was healed, and the beast had greater power than before. All men were amazed, and worshipped both Satan, who gave Rome its power, and Rome itself, declaring it invincible. It made arrogant and blasphemous claims for itself, like those which Daniel (7 : 8, 11, 20 ; 11 : 36) describes. It is, in fact, in fulfilment of Daniel's prediction (7 : 25), destined to possess power for the predetermined period of the rule of evil, three years and one-half. It blasphemed God and heavenly things.[2] This is the nation that persecutes Christians[3] and rules all peoples, and is worshipped by all except

Rome and its Satanic authority (1–2)

The healing of the beast's wound, and his great power, blasphemies and persecutions (3–10)

[1] Not improbably the reading "and I stood by the sea-shore" is correct.

[2] Dan. 8: 10–12, 25 ; 11: 36, 37.

[3] Dan. 7: 21. Notice the large use of Dan. 7. It is evident that by our writer, as by the writer of 2 Esdras (12: 10 ff.), the fourth beast of Daniel was identified with Rome.

Christians. Attend to this, my readers. Be encouraged in your resistance against the demands of this nefarious cultus by remembering the principle that those who use violence against others shall suffer the same themselves.[1] Rome will suffer all the woes she inflicts, and your part is not violent resistance, but believing patience.

The imperial cultus, its deceits, miracles and oppressions (11–17)

I saw another beast, a beast of the land, not the sea, with two horns like a lamb,[2] but its speech betrayed its relationship not to Christ but to the dragon. It was an authoritative agent of the first beast, Rome, and had the task of enforcing and extending the imperial cultus.[3] This it did by delusive miracles,[4] by calling down fire from heaven, and by giving to the image of the emperor the appearance of life. It enforced the worship of this image on penalty of death,[5] and compelled all men of every rank to accept it as a condition of taking part in the ordinary business of life, and so as a condition of life itself.

If you would know who this beast is whom I have described, I will give you the number of the name, 666.[6]

[1] See Gen. 9:6; Jer. 15:2; Matt. 26:52. [2] Cf. Dan. 8:3.

[3] The priesthood of the imperial cultus. Called the false prophet in 16:13; 19:20; 20:10.

[4] Such as were expected from false prophets and antichrists (Matt. 24:24).

[5] As in Dan. 3:5–7, 15.

[6] Or, I would ask you to look for a man's name which has the number which you must recognize as that of the power of evil, 666.

9. *The Opposing Host. Christ and the Undefiled* (14 : 1–5)

The heavenly vision of Christ and the company of his followers (14 : 1–5) is a prophecy and anticipation of the future—perhaps of that reigning of the martyrs with Christ of which 20 : 4–6 tells—rather than a disclosure of the condition of Christians who have already died. The number is given with no direct allusion to the 144,000 of 7 : 1–8. If literal celibacy were originally meant in verse 4, then our author must here have made use of traditions coming from an ascetic sect of Jews (Essenes?) or Christians; for there is no sufficient evidence that celibacy belonged to our author's ideal, or is added to martyrdom as a second condition of attaining the highest reward of the future.

Christ and the undefiled (14: 1–5)

Then in contrast to the Satanic power, and the multitudes of men who belonged to it, I had a vision of Christ, in the heavenly Zion, with the completed number of those who were marked as belonging, not to the beast, but to him and to God, his Father. And I heard a sound both mighty and musical. It was the new song which these redeemed ones sing before God's presence, and which none but these could learn. They are those who kept themselves from all defiling contact with the world. They will be ever with Christ who redeemed them.

10. *Last Warnings* (14:6–20)

A succession of brief summary and anticipatory visions follows (vv. 6–13), which seems to be inserted here, between the actors and the action of the drama, in order to encourage the faithful and warn those who are still indifferent. The teaching of the whole apocalypse is here summed up. Then follow two pictures of the world judgment, one as the harvest of grain, the other as the gathering and pressing of grapes. The first reaper is described as the one like a son of man sitting on a cloud, with unmistakable reference to Daniel 7:13. Yet the context seems to call for an angel rather than the Messiah here, for "another angel" summons him to his task, and the second reaper is still "another angel." It is difficult to believe that our author intended to represent Christ as directed by one angel as to the time of his coming for judgment, and as followed by another angel whose judicial act seems more important and final than his own. It will not do to say that Christ comes first and harvests the good, and an angel of destruction executes God's wrath on the wicked. It is Christ who is to tread the wine-press of the wrath of God (19:15). It is simpler to take the one like a son of man to be an angel, in accordance with what we have regarded as its original meaning. It is true that the imagery of Daniel 7:13 is used in a description of Christ in Revelation 1:13, yet it is not used by itself, but only in con-

nection with the description of God (Dan. 7 : 9) and that of the angel, Gabriel (Dan. 10 : 6) ; hence we cannot infer that our author regarded Daniel's "son of man" as Messiah. Anticipations belong to our author's manner, and it would not be contrary to his custom if he should use two different figures to describe, not successive events, but one event in two aspects, or for the sake of richer and more impressive poetical expression. The second description (vv. 17–20) is hardly more than an expansion of Joel 3 : 13.

The eternal gospel (14 : 6–7)

I saw an angel proclaiming to all men the gospel of the worship of the one God, the creator, in view of his approaching judgment.

Fall of Babylon-Rome (14 : 8)

A second angel announced (as if it were already accomplished) the fall of Babylon (Rome) for its sins against mankind.

Penalty of those who accept the imperial cultus (14 : 9–12)

A third angel declared that those who yield to the worship of Rome shall share the eternal torment that awaits it. This should encourage Christians in their patience and fidelity

Blessedness of the faithful dead (14 : 13)

A voice from heaven assured me of their future blessedness. Death will bring them only release from pains and reward for their good deeds.

The judgment as the reaping of grain (14 : 14–16)

I saw one like Daniel's vision of a human figure on a cloud.[1] He was crowned as a king, and had a sickle in his hand, with which, at the summons of an angel messenger of God, he reaped the ripe earth.

[1] Dan. 7 : 13.

As the gathering and treading of grapes (14 : 17–20)

Another angel with a sickle is bidden by the angel of fire to gather the grapes of the earth and cast them into the wine-press of God's wrath. From it flowed out a flood of wine, like blood, over all the land.[1]

11. *Vision of the Sevenfold Wrath of God* (15–16)

The way is prepared for the overthrow of the beast, Rome, and of the dragon, Satan, by a new and last series of seven plagues, the seven bowls. They are closely parallel to the seven trumpets, but less elaborated, and although the whole, and not one-third, is now involved, yet the description is somewhat less vivid and impressive. The sequence as to place is very nearly the same in the first six bowls and trumpets, namely : (1) Earth, (2) Sea, (3) Rivers (fresh waters), (4) Heavenly bodies, (5) Under-world (?), (6) Euphrates. The bowls are somewhat more nearly related to the Egyptian plagues, and less dominated by volcanic features. But the seventh bowl, like the sixth seal, is an earthquake with a hail of volcanic stones. Unlike the seals and trumpets, there is in the bowls no distinction between the first four and the following three, and no break or interlude between the sixth and seventh. On the other hand the first five are somewhat distinguished from the sixth and seventh.

The seven angels of the plagues (15 : 1)

I saw seven angels with seven plagues in which God's wrath will come to its final and complete expression.

[1] See Enoch 100 : 1–3.

But before this was revealed, in order that you faithful Christians might not be terrified by it, there was given me another vision of the heavenly blessedness of those who successfully resist the power of Rome and the imperial cultus. They sing a song of praise to God for his greatness, a Christian song like the Song of Moses when God delivered Israel from the Egyptians, ascribing in the language of psalmists and prophets of old[1] all glory to him, whose power is now about to be recognized by all men. Song of the redeemed in heaven (15:2–4)

Then I saw the seven angels come forth out of the heavenly temple in splendid attire, and one of the four cherubim gave them seven bowls containing God's wrath. And the temple was, as of old, so filled with the visible glory of God[2] that though it was open, none could enter into it, till God's judicial wrath had spent itself. The seven angels receive the bowls of wrath (15:5–8)

Then the command came and the first angel poured out his bowl into the earth and the worshippers of Rome were afflicted with sores, like the sixth Egyptian plague.[3] The second poured his bowl into the sea and it became blood and all its life was destroyed.[4] The third poured his bowl into the fresh waters and turned them into blood. The angel of the waters confessed that the judgment was but The wrath of God against the earth (16:1–2) The sea (16:3) The fresh waters (16:4–7)

[1] Ps. 92:5; 111:2; 139:14; 145:17; Ex. 34:10; Jer. 10:6–7; Hos. 14:9.

[2] See Ex. 40:34; 1 Kings 8:10; 2 Chron. 5:13–14; 7:1–2; Isa. 6:4; Ezek. 44:4.

[3] Ex. 9:8–11.

[4] See the first Egyptian plague (Ex. 7:14–25) and the second trumpet.

just, since men who had shed blood must now drink blood. The altar answers, yes, God's judgments are just.

The sun (16:8–9)

The fourth poured his bowl upon the sun, and it burned men with its intense heat; yet they blasphemed and did not repent.

The throne of Satan (16:10–11)

The fifth poured his bowl upon the throne of the beast,[1] and brought darkness upon his kingdom; but for all these plagues men repented not.

The Euphrates, bringing eastern kings to war (16:12–16)

The sixth poured his bowl upon the Euphrates, drying it up[2] so that the eastern kings, the Parthians, could come against Rome. And I saw that the three great powers of evil, the Satanic dragon and the two Roman beasts, would instigate, through demoniacal agency, a general assembly of nations to the war of the day of judgment. (Note, my readers, that that day will come unexpectedly, and only constant watchfulness can prepare one for it.) The place where the nations will gather for this last war is called in Hebrew Har-Magedon.[3]

[1] This should be the throne of the Cæsars, but it is possible that the demon representative of Rome is in mind, and that a preliminary plague in the realm of Satan is intended (cf. 13:2, where the throne of Rome is Satan's throne).

[2] See 2 Esdr. 13:43–47.

[3] This is a somewhat obscure vision of a fixed and well-known event in Jewish and Christian eschatology. Wars and rumors of wars are always among the signs of the end. This war is anticipated in the sixth trumpet (9:13–21) and consummated in 19:19–21 and 20:7–10, where a fuller discussion of it will be found. Har-Magedon may mean the mount of Megiddo. The *plain* of Megiddo was a famous battle field, and a natural place of resistance against armies coming from the north toward Jerusalem. An apoca-

The seventh angel poured his bowl upon the air. A voice announced this as the final manifestation of God's wrath. An earthquake followed, great beyond all parallel, in which the mighty city, Rome, was divided into three parts and the cities of other nations fell, and Rome was punished by God.[1] Islands, too, and mountains disappeared, and a hail-storm of great stones fell upon men causing them to blaspheme.

The air, bringing earthquake and hail (16 : 17–21)

12. *The Figure of the Scarlet Beast and the Woman-City*

The fall of Rome is not adequately described in the seventh bowl. Perhaps it is only announced there, as in 14 : 8. Since it is a leading theme of the book we should expect it to be fully elaborated, and in fact the next three chapters develop it in different ways and with the use of a variety of materials.

Subject, the fall of Rome

The interpretation of the figure of the woman sitting on the dragon is involved in difficulties of the same sort as those that met us in studying chapters 12 and 13. It is quite certain that the author is here also using traditional material. It is not at all certain that the figure was first

Origin and history of the figure

lyptical writer might prefer to make the neighboring mountains the scene of the conflict on account of Ezek. 38 : 8, 21 ; 39 : 2, 4, 17. See also the references to Mount Tabor and the *high places* in Jud. 4 : 6, 12, 14 ; 5 : 18 ; cf. 5 : 19. Perhaps lost apocalyptical traditions would explain the word.

[1] Or, "the great city," Jerusalem (cf. 11 : 8), was divided into three parts, and heathen cities fell, and Rome was reserved for special judgment at the hand of God.

invented to typify Rome, nor is it clear that our author was the first to apply it to Rome. Just how far he may have adapted it to the immediate situation it is not easy to say; yet upon our answer to this question depends the extent and detail of our effort to find references to historical events in the various features of the picture. Unlike chapters 12 and 13, we have here an elaborate interpretation of the figure (vv. 7–18). Yet we cannot infer that John borrowed the figure and added the interpretation, for this is not simple and consistent, but seems itself to have been worked over to suit a new use. Verse 6 in the vision, and verses 9 and 11 in the interpretation, seem to be additions to an older form, and verse 14 does not appear to be in a natural place, for the ten kings could not be first overcome by Christ and his followers and then aid the beast in the destruction of the woman (16–17).

It is certain that this is a vision of the approaching judgment upon Rome. Parallel to it and introduced in the same way is the vision of the approaching glory of Jerusalem in 21 : 9 ff. That is actually the vision of a city, and its name is given ; this is a symbolic figure which is definitely interpreted as meaning a city, and all but in name as the city, Rome (vv. 9, 18). But the figure was hardly constructed in the first place for Rome. The seven heads were a fixed feature in the beast that represents the power against God (12 : 31; 3 : 1), and the interpretation of them as signifying the seven hills on which Rome was seated

A picture of Babylon

(v. 9) is evidently secondary, and does not even displace the interpretation of them as seven kings (v. 10). It is not Rome but the literal Babylon that sat on many waters (v. 1),[1] so that it has to be explained that, with reference to Rome, the many waters are the peoples over whom she ruled (v. 15). Comparing verses 1 and 3, however, it would seem that the beast himself should be the many waters, and in fact, as we have seen, this beast is the dragon of the chaos of the deep. If this is so then the whole image of the royal woman sitting on the dragon could have been shaped in the first place as a picture of Babylon.

Relation of the dragon and the woman

The woman and the dragon evidently belong together, and the seven heads and ten horns of the dragon must represent the imperial power on which the greatness of the city rests. But at the end of the chapter the beast and the ten horns, who now appear as foreign kings, are enemies of the woman and bring about her overthrow. This must be a modification of the original figure. Now it is a historical fact that though the Roman empire lifted the city of Rome to a greater than its former glory, yet there remained from the days of the Republic a persistent popular aversion to the imperial policy, so that the idea of a final turning of the empire against the city was not inconceivable. Perhaps, however, the Nero myth must be assumed as the explanation of this strange ending of the

The Nero myth

[1] So in Jer. 51 : 13.

vision. The last form of this myth appears to have anticipated a rising of Nero from the under-world, and his coming with the aid of the Parthians to take vengeance on the city that had forsaken him. To this, which could be a Jewish expectation, the Christian writer added the warfare of the returning Nero and his allies against Christians (v. 14).

If it was the identification of the beast with the emperors and specifically with Nero that made possible the conception of a final assault of the beast upon the woman, Rome, then verse 11 must be understood as making this identification. After the appointed seven kings of Rome will come an eighth, who is one of the seven, for the set number must not be changed, and is also the beast himself. The returning Nero could be so described. A half-Satanic being, he would be no longer only one of the heads (kings), but the beast itself, the very embodiment of the evil spirit of the Roman empire. Then verse 8 must have, in our author's intention, the same meaning. It is the beast as Nero who was, and is not, and is about to come up out of the abyss, and to go to destruction. These impressive formulas, however, with their apparently intended antithesis to the description of God as one who was, and is, and is to come, were probably shaped originally to describe the Satanic chaos dragon himself, who was, before creation, and who is not, having been bound at the creation of the world, and who is to come up out of the

abyss to make a final assault upon God and his people, and be forever vanquished and destroyed.

We have then in this chapter the familiar figure of the chaos dragon, from a heathen mythology, once applied to Babylon, and afterward to Rome, reshaped to be a vehicle of the Nero myth, and applied by the Christian writer to explain the present and future persecutions of the saints (vv. 6, 14), and to express the assurance that the persecuting power was nearing its appointed overthrow, perhaps with the suggestion that that which made Rome's rule just now especially oppressive would prove itself the means of her downfall. Summary

In verse 10 we seem to have a very specific indication of our author's date. Five Roman emperors are fallen, one is, and one more is to follow and reign a short time. The book, or rather the verse, was written then under the sixth emperor. We may safely omit Galba, Otho, and Vitellius from the reckoning, but it is not certain whether we should begin with Cæsar, as do Suetonius, Josephus, Fourth Ezra (11 : 12, 13 ; 12 : 14, 15), and possibly Revelation 13 : 3, or more correctly with Augustus, as Tacitus does. The date of the vision

The latter gives a better result, for Nero would then be already dead, as verse 8 may imply, and the verse would date from Vespasian (69–79 A. D.). Titus, the seventh, did in fact reign, but a short time, so that it is possible to infer that even this verse came from Domitian's reign, and that the assumption of Vespasian's reign is a device by

which the writer is enabled to predict the short reign of Titus and to identify Domitian with the returning Nero. It seems more probable, however, that verse 10 really came from Vespasian's reign ; and that the next reign was made short in order that the number seven might be filled out and yet the end be near.

In verse 11, however, the number is lengthened out to eight in such a way as to suggest that the writer is living under the eighth emperor and feels obliged to reduce the number to seven in accordance with the vision. This he does by making the beast himself the eighth, and by saying still further that the eighth was one of the seven.

Perhaps it is simplest to suppose that the vision received its earlier form (Jewish or Christian) under Vespasian, as verse 10 indicates, and that verse 11 was added when our book was written, under Domitian. Other additions we may suppose were verses 6 and 14. It is possible also that the ten kings got their present peculiar interpretation from the same hand. They may represent the Parthians, with whose help Nero was to come against Rome. But it must be confessed that being ten horns of the beast it is more natural to suppose that either provincial Roman governors or vassal kings of the empire were meant. The historian Mommsen maintains that the impulse to the Book of Revelation came from a pseudo-Nero, Terentius Maximus, who arose in Asia Minor in the last days of Vespasian. He found adherents in the region of the Euphrates.

The Parthians supported him and prepared to reinstate him in Rome by force, but at length surrendered him, after long negotiations, about the year 88, to Domitian.

Remaining doubt about Nero

It should, however, be said at the end that caution may well be used with regard to the reference to Nero here as in chapter 13. The clear meaning of the vision would appear to be that Rome is to fall at the hands of certain rulers who now seem to belong to her, whether governors or former kings of Roman provinces, and that Satan, who has given Rome its evil power, will be the inspiring agent in this revolution.

13. *The Fall of Rome in a Figure* (17)

Vision of the woman (Rome) and the scarlet beast (1–6)

One of the seven angels of the bowls summoned me to see the judgment of the great harlot-city, situated, like Babylon, on many waters. By her, as by Tyre and Babylon of old, kings were made impure.[1]

He took me away, in anecstasy, into a wilderness,[2] where I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet beast, which had, like the beasts I had seen before, the well-known marks of godless world rulership.[3] The woman was magnificently attired, a picture of luxury and immorality. Her name was Babylon, the mother of vice and sin; and I saw that it was with the blood of Christian martyrs that she was defiled.[4]

[1] Isa. 23:17; Jer. 51:7; Rev. 14:8.

[2] Such as lay between Palestine and Babylonia. [3] Rev. 12:3; 13:1.

[4] Those even in the provinces who were sentenced to fight with wild beasts would die chiefly in Rome (cf. 18:24).

The interpretation of the beast and his heads (7–11)

The angel promised to explain to me the hidden meaning of the woman and the beast. The beast, he said, "was, and is not, and is about to come up out of the abyss, and to go to destruction," and all men except Christians [1] shall wonder at his coming again after having disappeared.

We that are wise may see that the seven heads suggest the seven hills on which Rome sits. They also stand for seven kings, of whom the sixth reigns at present; the seventh will reign but a little while. The beast himself will finally reign, and we may call him therefore an eighth, though he also belongs to the seven, so that the destined number is not exceeded.

The ten kings and their war against Christians and against Rome (12–17)

The ten horns are also ten kings,[2] though they have not yet received their royal power. But they will reign for a brief time when the beast reigns (the eighth), and wholly in subordination to him. These are they who with the beast are to make war against Christ and his followers and be vanquished.[3] The waters on which the harlot sits may be taken as meaning the multitudes of nations over whom Rome holds sway.[4] It is these ten kings who with the demon beast itself shall turn against the harlot, Rome, whom they now support, and destroy her. For God made these kings and the nations they represent at first a part

[1] As in 13:8. [2] As we learn from Dan. 7:7, 20, 24.

[3] After the temporary and apparent victory alluded to in 11:7; 12:17 (or, 6 and 13–17); 13:7.

[4] This is a familiar use of the figure (Isa. 8:7; Jer. 47:2). It was suggested by the reflection that Rome was not, like Babylon, literally situated on waters.

of the evil empire and then the agent in her overthrow, which is accomplished by that very Satanic spirit of evil to which Rome owes her present fleeting glory. For the woman is, as you may well know already, that city which now rules over the kingdoms of the earth. The woman is Rome (18)

14. *Dependence and Freedom in the Use of Prophecy*

We do not know the sources of the materials from which the figures of chapter 17 were constructed, and can only make guesses as to the process by which the materials took this form. On the other hand, chapter 18, which expresses in prophetic form the same expectation that chapter 17 gives in apocalyptical imagery, is made up almost entirely of Old Testament language, borrowed from the woes against Babylon (Isa. 13, 14; Jer. 50, 51), Tyre (Isa. 23; Ezek. 26–28), and Edom (Isa. 34). The principal question here concerns the intellectual process out of which this composition sprang. This conglomerate of Old Testament phrases is described as the utterance of angel voices from heaven, which the seer heard. Now it is true that the chapter does not make the impression of being pieced together in a mechanical way by some dry and laborious scribe. On the contrary, the result, though it contains little new, has a unity of its own and a degree of impressiveness which seems to attest a strong emotional impulse in its writer. We can suppose that one whose mind was full of prophetic language against the godless

Dependence on Old Testament prophecy

How was the chapter composed?

cities of the past, and whose heart was burning with hatred against the godless city of the present, could have expressed himself in such a way as this; and it is possible that the heat and intensity of his mental action was such that what he wrote seemed to him not his own—as indeed in a true sense it was not—but inspired from heaven. Yet even so the angel voices and action must have been, to the author of such a production, figure rather than reality, and certainly for us no supernatural agency is needed to explain its composition.

There is one verse which seems to allude to a historical situation (v. 4), but we hesitate to give it such a significance when we see that it is taken over exactly from Jeremiah. It was probably taken not in the literal sense, as a warning to escape from a doomed city, but as an admonition to Christians to escape from contact with heathen life, lest they share the approaching downfall of the heathen world.

The variations between the second and third personal pronouns in speaking of the city seem to have no significance except as signs of the various sources from which the writer drew.

15. *The Fall of Rome in the Language of Prophecy* (18)

The fall of Rome announced (1–3)

After this I saw another angel from heaven, of great authority and shining radiance, who cried, Babylon-Rome is fallen [1] and become like a desert, with its uncanny in-

[1] Isa. 21 : 9; Jer. 51 : 8.

habitants,[1] for she has misled and corrupted all nations.[2]

Her fall is due for her sins (4–8)

I heard another voice summoning God's people to leave the doomed city,[3] so as not to share her sins,[4] and the punishment which is now about to fall upon her.[5] Let her punishment be according to the strict rule of recompense, like for like,[6] but in double measure.[7] Let her misery be as great as her present glory and self-confidence.[8] The troubles which she thinks far from her shall come upon her suddenly, bringing sorrow and destruction, for the strong God is her judge.[9]

Kings bewail her (9–10)

The kings of the earth who lived in luxury and sin because of her shall weep over her destruction,[10] and the foreign merchants who were enriched by supplying the various luxuries of her extravagant and splendid life mourn the loss of her trade,[11]—for all the things thou didst desire and prize have perished—the merchants (I say) mourned over the city that had so suddenly lost so great magnificence.[12]

Lamentation of the merchants (11–17[a])

Seamen mourn over her (17[b]–19)

Sea-captains and sailors likewise mourned the fall of the city whose trade had made them rich.[13] But let heaven

[1] Isa. 13 : 21 ; 14 : 23 ; cf. 34 : 11–15 ; Bar. 4 : 35[b] ; Jer. 50 : 39 ; 51 : 37.
[2] Isa. 23 : 17 ; Jer. 51 : 7 ; Nah. 3 : 4 ; cf. Ezek. 27.
[3] Jer. 51 : 6, 9, 45 ; 50 : 8 ; Isa. 48 : 20 ; cf. Apoc. Bar. 2 : 1.
[4] Isa. 52 : 11. [5] Jer. 51 : 6, 9. [6] Jer. 50 : 15[b], 29[b] ; Ps. 137 : 8.
[7] Cf. Isa. 40 : 2. [8] Isa. 47 : 7–8 ; cf. Jer. 50 : 29 (Babylon).
[9] Isa. 47 : 9. That Rome is to be destroyed by fire (cf. vv. 9, 18) is said also in 17 : 16, but there it is by the ten kings, here by God's judgment.
[10] Ezek. 26 : 16–18. [11] Ezek. 27 : 12–24. [12] Ezek. 27 : 36.
[13] Ezek. 27 : 27–34.

But Christians rejoice (20)

and all Christian martyrs therein rejoice, for Rome's fall is your vindication and revenge.

Her fall will be final and absolute (21–24)

Then an angel cast a great stone into the sea, as Jeremiah was once charged to do,[1] as a symbol of the sudden and final fall of the doomed city. No longer, said he, shall music be heard,[2] or any art or labor be pursued in thee. No lamps shall shine in thee, no weddings be celebrated.[3] For great as was thy wealth,[4] thou didst corrupt the nations.[5] Moreover, she was the great slayer of prophets and of saints.[6]

16. *The Fall of Rome in Heavenly Song* (19 : 1–10)

In 19 : 1–10, as in 7 : 9 ff.; 11 : 14–18; 14 : 1–5; 15 : 1–3, the author interrupts the course of his visions of judgment to come with a heavenly scene in which the meaning and outcome of it all is set forth. In verses 1–3 the seer appears to be on earth and only hears a great voice of heavenly choirs; but in verses 4 ff. he describes the heavenly scene in detail, after the manner of chapter 4. This may be evidence of the use of different materials, or only of the author's disregard of formal consistency. There is no distinctively Christian element except in verses 7–10.

[1] Jer. 51 : 63–64. [2] Ezek. 26 : 13; Isa. 24 : 8.
[3] Jer. 25 : 10; 7 : 34; 16 : 9. [4] Isa. 23 : 8. [5] Nah. 3 : 4; Isa. 47 : 9.
[6] Jer. 51 : 35, 49; Ezek. 24 : 7–9. The charge which in Jeremiah is made against Babylon, and which Christ (following Ezekiel) makes against Jerusalem (Matt. 23 : 29–37 = Lu. 11 : 47–51; 13 : 34), our writer characteristically turns against Rome.

Heavenly praises for Rome's overthrow (1–4)

After this I heard in vision what was like the voice of a multitude ascribing praise to God because of his just judgment upon Rome for her corruption and for her persecution of his servants. Her burning is as perpetual as that of Edom of old (Isa. 34 : 10). The twenty-four elders and the four living beings joined in these praises. In response to a heavenly command all God's people join in a mighty Hallelujah to the Lord, the King.[1]

in which all God's people join (5–6)

The joy of Christian believers (7–9)

For us Rome's fall and God's reign is an occasion for great joy, as at a marriage feast, for in place of the harlot city, Rome, the new Jerusalem, the Christian community, will appear as the pure bride of Christ, clothed in righteous deeds.[2] And the angel [3] said, Blessed are those who are invited to this marriage feast ; [4] and he declared these words divinely true. But when I would worship him, he forbade me, saying that he was but a fellow-servant of Christ, and that God only was to be worshipped ; for angels can only bear witness to Jesus, and this witness to Jesus is the supernatural endowment of the Christian prophet also,

The angel refuses to be worshipped (10)

[1] A like refrain is found in Ps. 93 : 1 ; 97 : 1 ; 99 : 1, and see also the Psalms of Solomon, 2 : 34, 36 ; 5 : 21 f. ; 17 : 1, 4, 38, 51. Such summonings to praise God are common in the Psalms, *e. g.*, 104 : 35 ; 106 : 48 ; 22 : 23 ; 115 : 13 ; 134 : 1 ; 135 : 1, and in general Ps. 113–18.

[2] An anticipation of ch. 21, where the figure is interpreted. In 2 Esd. 9 the old Jerusalem is God's bride ; cf. Hos. 2 : 19–20 ; Isa. 54 : 5 ; 62 : 5 ; Ezek. 16 ; Jer. 3 ; and Paul likens the Christian community to the bride of Christ, 2 Cor. 11 : 2 ; Eph. 5 : 29, 32.

[3] See 17 : 15. [4] See Lu. 14 : 15.

so that the angel and the prophet belong in the same class.[1]

17. *The Warrior-Messiah*

The warrior-Christ, and the fall of the two beasts

In 19 : 11–21 we have the end of the two beasts, the Roman empire and the imperial cultus, whose rise and dominion chapter 13 describes, while chapter 20 brings the temporary imprisonment and then the final overthrow of the dragon, Satan, of chapter 12. But though this is our writer's plan there is evidence that the materials he used were not originally cast in just this form. We have found reason to suppose that the dragon of chapter 12 and the beasts of chapter 13 had originally the same meaning, that is, the ungodly power of Rome which persecuted first the Jews and then Christians. Behind both lies in apocalyptical tradition the same chaos monster, whom God overcame at creation, and who was to be again and finally vanquished, in his new form as symbol or demon of the godless heathen kingdoms, at God's second coming and new Messianic creation. The account of the birth of Messiah and his escape from the dragon (12 : 5) should naturally have been followed by an account of the victorious warfare of the Messiah after he had grown to manhood against his old enemy ; and the present chapter supplies in part what we should think the original story must have

Relation to ch. 12

[1] It is not certain just what this last clause of v. 10 means. It may possibly be a gloss. At all events the verse is a protest against angel worship.

contained. Here the Messiah comes as a mounted warrior, with some features that suggest the young sun-god of the ancient myth (v. 12), with hosts of heavenly cavalry, to overcome the heathen nations and reign over all. No doubt the vivid and sanguinary picture of Jehovah's coming in judgment in Isaiah 63 : 1–6 furnished much of the imagery of this description of Christ, and it may be that we need no other explanation of it than this, and the Messiah of Isaiah 11 : 1–5, and our writer's own adaptations.[1] It is not easy to say how far this warfare could have been literally conceived, even by a Jewish writer. The bloodthirsty and revengeful spirit is evident enough, and we should prefer to think that it was not the original creation of the Christian writer, but that he rather adopted Jewish material here as often before, and used it in a more or less figurative sense. The image of a fierce warrior is quite different from our writer's own vision of the heavenly Christ in chapter 5 ; and perhaps we can see evidences of the process by which this Jewish figure became allegorized into a Christian one. The garment sprinkled with blood, in spite of its likeness to Isaiah 63 : 1–2, may be meant to suggest the sacrificial death of Christ rather than the blood of a warrior, for it is so dyed before, and not only after the combat ; and the name, The Word of God, and the idea that his sword proceeds out of his mouth (vv. 15, 21) suggests that it is not an actual warfare in which the re-

The warrior-Messiah, Jewish or Christian?

The "Word of God"

[1] Joel 3 : 9–15, and Ezek. 39 : 4, 17–20 are also used ; cf. Wisd. 18 : 4–25.

turning Christ will engage, but rather a judging in righteousness, which is the task of him who is faithful and true (v. 11). This idea, however, is not distinctively Christian. In Isaiah 11 : 4 the Messiah smites the earth by his words, not by arms. So in the Psalms of Solomon, "He shall destroy the ungodly nations with the word of his mouth" (17 : 27, 39, 41). In Second Esdras 13 : 9–11, 27–38 the breath of Messiah's mouth is like a tempest of fire destroying his enemies, and this is interpreted as meaning his words of rebuke and condemnation. We may compare also the striking personification of the judicial word of God in the Book of Wisdom 18 : 15–16, in a description of the slaying of the first-born in Egypt. The title "Word of God" here may have little if any relation to its use in the Fourth Gospel. It would be hard to find two descriptions of the Messiah and his task farther apart than Revelation 19 : 11 ff. and John 1 : 1 ff. There is no suggestion in Revelation of the Alexandrian Logos speculation. It is of course possible that the name was added as a gloss by a later scribe who thought he could supply the mysterious name "which no one knows but himself" (v. 12).

In the eschatology of our author the great final assault of heathen powers against the Messianic kingdom, foretold in Ezekiel 38–39, and in many prophets after him,[1] falls into two parts, the one here told (19 : 19–21) before

[1] See Joel 3 : 1–13; Zech. 14 : 2; Ps. 2; Isa. 24 : 21; and cf. Rev. 16 : 12–16; 17 : 12–14.

the thousand years' reign of Christ, and the one told in 20 : 7–10, after it.

18. *The Fall of Rome at the Hand of Christ* (19 : 11–21)

Then I had a vision of a heavenly rider on a white horse, his name, Faithful and True,[1] his calling, that of a king, to judge and make war. He had blazing eyes [2] and many diadems, since he is king of many peoples, and a mysterious name known to no one else.[3] His garment was blood-red, like that of the heavenly judge in Isaiah 63 : 1–2, and his name was "The Word of God." Armies of heavenly horsemen in white followed him. Out of his mouth came words like a sword with which to smite the nations.[4] He will rule them with an absolute authority,[5] and will execute the judicial wrath of God,[6] according to the exalted name he bears, King of kings and Lord of lords.[7]

Christ the conqueror and king (11–16)

An angel in the sun summoned the birds to feast on the

The judgment as a feast (17–18)

[1] See 3 : 14. [2] Dan. 10 : 6.

[3] Just such a name is promised to him who overcomes in 2 : 17. Perhaps the idea is derived from that of a magical formula, a word of supernatural properties and powers ; for the proper names of this being are known (vv. 11, 13, 16).

[4] This means that the Messiah's judicial word is itself effectual, his sentence of condemnation is self-executing. See 1 : 16 ; 2 : 12, and Isa. 11 : 4.

[5] The expression is from Ps. 2 : 9 ; cf. Rev. 2 : 27 ; 12 : 5.

[6] The figure of the wine press has been used already in 14 : 19–20, and is derived from Joel 3 : 13 and Isa. 63 : 2–3.

[7] See 17 : 14. This which in the Old Testament is a title only of God (Dan. 2 : 47 ; Deut. 10 : 17, and so in 1 Tim. 6 : 15) is here applied to Christ.

bodies of the slain, who include all men, of high and low estate.[1]

Assault and overthrow of the Roman empire and cultus (19-21)

Then I saw the Roman empire and the other kings with their armies come against the Messiah and his hosts; and Rome and its godless worship (the two beasts of ch. 13) were cast into the lake of fire.[2] The rest were slain by the Messiah, and made food for the birds.

19. *The Imprisonment of Satan and the Thousand Years' Reign*

Relation of the fall of Satan to the fall of Rome

Back of Rome, in our author's view, is the spirit of evil, who gives Rome its evil power (ch. 12; cf. 13 : 1 f.). Hence as before describing the rise of Rome (ch. 13) he gives an account of Satan himself and of the reason for his present power on earth (ch. 12), so now, after telling of the fall of Rome, he goes on to describe the fate of Satan. So closely are the two united, Rome's power is so much the embodiment of Satan's rule, that the fall of Rome involves at least the crippling of his kingdom. With the fall of the empire, which was his tool, Satan is himself bound for a time, but his final overthrow will not come until one

[1] This figure is taken from Ezek. 39 : 4, 17–20, where it describes the awful fate of Gog and his hosts when they come in the Messianic time against Israel. There are other less gross forms in which the figure of a feast is used of the Messianic age, the idea being not as here that of birds of prey feasting on the slain foes of Christ, but that of a feast of joy and companionship. See Lu. 22 : 30; Mk. 14 : 25.

[2] See Dan. 7 : 11; Isa. 30 : 33; Ezek. 38 : 22, and especially En. 10 : 13; 18 : 11 ff.; 21 : 7; 90 : 24–27.

more opportunity has been given him to show his malign power.

Evil angels of heathen nations

The idea that each nation has its counterpart in the heavenly world, and that the conflicts and fortunes of these angel beings accompany and explain the great events of world history, was, as we have seen, familiar to the Jews. It is found not only in Daniel 10–12, but also in Isaiah 24 : 21, 22 [1] and in later apocalypses.[2]

Imprisoned angels in the Book of Enoch

There are other important points of connection between this chapter and current Jewish ideas. In the Book of Enoch [3] there is elaborated out of the myth of Genesis 6 : 1–3 the idea that after certain angels fell from heaven they were bound under the earth where they are to remain during the course of human history.[4] Only at its end will they be released and then only in order to suffer a more severe and final punishment. Meanwhile the evils that afflict men are due in part to the demon spirits of the giants, the offspring of the fallen angels, and in part to the angels of the heathen nations, who oppress the Jews beyond their commission. As in Revelation 20 : 10, so in Enoch 90 : 21–25, we read that these angels of the nations are punished in the same abyss of fire to which the original fallen angels are condemned. We can guess that the conception that supernatural powers of evil are confined and their destruc-

[1] See also Deut. 4 : 19; 32 : 8 LXX; cf. Isa. 34 : 4–5; Ps. 82; 58 (?).

[2] See En. 89, 90. [3] See pp. 301–305.

[4] From Enoch this conception passed over into the New Testament. Jude 6; 2 Pet. 2 : 4; cf. 1 Pet. 3 : 19.

tive powers restrained under the earth was originally suggested by earthquakes and volcanoes.[1] There is a relatively old account of a long confinement and then a releasing of evil angels in Isaiah 24 : 21–22, and this leads back to a still different conception, that of creation as accomplished by a binding of the chaos dragon, the spirit of the waters, that is a confining of the ocean within fixed bounds, so that earth is freed from its ravages and can produce life. We have already discussed this idea and its important place both in the Old Testament and in apocalyptical symbolism.[2]

Imprisonment of the chaos beast

Peculiarities of the conception in Revelation

But in Revelation the binding of Satan takes place not at or near the creation of the world, but at the beginning of the Messianic kingdom. This looks like a Christian modification. To the Christian seer it is not God's deeds at creation or in the beginnings of human history, but Christ's deeds, past and about to come, which are the centre of faith and hope. The dragon was cast out of heaven in connection with the birth and ascension of Christ. His rule on earth is to be checked by Christ's victory over Rome and his reign over the world, and will come to a final end before the new heaven and earth arise. It may be also that the experience of Christians at this time, the violence of the evil power and the persecutions of Rome, made it

[1] See En. 67 : 9 ff., where hot springs reveal their presence.

[2] See the Prayer of Manasses 2–4, where it is expressed in language in part related to the passage before us (Rev. 20 : 1–3).

impossible to suppose that the dragon was already bound. The conquest over him made through the birth and resurrection of Christ was only heavenly. He was cast out of heaven, but he is all the more violent and desperate on earth. Yet the old legend of his being temporarily bound and then released for a final effort and then destroyed, held its place; it was only pushed down in time. Satan would be bound at Christ's second coming, and would be loosed and finally conquered and destroyed at the end of the millennial era and the beginning of the new heaven and earth.

The most important conception in our chapter, and one of the most significant in the whole book, is that of the thousand years' rule of Christ and the risen martyrs on earth. In three verses (20 : 4–6) the basis for a Christian doctrine of an earthly millennium is laid, fateful verses which have produced one of the least useful chapters in the long history of Christian thought. As in the case of so much else in apocalyptical writing, we must see the meaning and estimate the value of this conception by a study of its origin and development.

The thousand years

The original Messianic hope was wholly earthly, the hope of Israel's future power and prosperity, the recovery of its independence as under David, and the extension of its power. There gradually arose, especially from Daniel on, a more transcendent idea of the promised consummation. More heavenly features were added to the description, and there

Origin of the idea of an earthly preceding the heavenly consummation

was a tendency to detach the hope altogether from earth. Now the idea of a temporary earthly consummation followed by an eternal heavenly one was, to the Jew, simply one of the ways of adjusting the new conceptions to the old, of providing for the literal fulfilment of Old Testament predictions and nati nal ambitions, and yet giving a place, and the chief place, to the heightened and more supernatural expectations that had more lately arisen. There were other ways of adjusting the old and the new, especially that of regarding the earthly and national language as only a figure of which the reality was heavenly and spiritual. But the simpler way was to allow old and new to remain side by side by making one follow after the other, and making the Messiah the chief actor in the first, God in the second. So far as we know this method is followed first in the Apocalypse of Weeks, in Enoch 91 : 12 ff. We find the same scheme in Second Esdras 7 : 28–29, where the earthly kingdom is four hundred years long; also in the Apocalypse of Baruch 40 : 3. The four hundred years of Second Esdras may have arisen out of a combination of Genesis 15 : 13 and Psalms 90 : 15.[1] Israel was to rule as king as long as it had served as a slave. It is not hard to explain the larger number, one thousand. From suggestions in the Book of Jubilees 4 : 30 and the Secrets of Enoch 33 : 1–2, it appears that out of Genesis 2 : 2 and Psalms 90 : 4 the idea had arisen that world history would run its course in one heavenly week,

[1] So it is explained in the Talmud (*Sanh.* 99).

of which each day is a thousand years. The Messianic age could easily be conceived of as the Sabbath of that week, and after it would follow the unreckoned and eternal time of the final consummation.[1]

Significance of the thousand years' reign to our author

There are some peculiar things about the thousand years' reign in Revelation 20, that put us in doubt as to its precise value in the writer's mind. He does not need this earthly consummation in order to give to the Messiah his office as judge and king, for in the final heavenly consummation, though God is judge, yet the Messiah still has a place on God's throne (22 : 1, 3). Neither does he need the earthly kingdom in order to find a fulfilment for the predictions of the prophets, for he follows the other method of adjusting these predictions to a heavenly consummation, that is the method of figurative interpretation. His description of the new heaven and earth is made up of Old Testament prophetic language poetically taken. So the original motives for putting an earthly before the heavenly kingdom are lacking. It would seem as if this order of things were given either in Christian [2] or in Jewish traditions, and that our writer follows them. We can perhaps find two motives that may have influenced him, that of giving a dramatic character to the account of Satan's end, and that of providing a special reward for the martyrs. The concep-

[1] See Secrets of Enoch 33 : 2, and cf. En. 91 : 17.

[2] Paul seems to prove that the idea had been adopted from Judaism by Christians long before the time of our book. See 1 Cor. 15 : 20–28; 6 : 2, 3; also Matt. 19 : 28.

tion seems to be that while the chief power of evil is restrained, Christ and the risen martyrs, by their rule and judgment, will overcome and remove the remaining evil of the world, and prepare it for the coming of God and the final consummation.[1]

How literally our author conceived of this reign of martyrs with Christ who that takes account of the extent to which he poetizes will venture dogmatically to assert? Certainly the similar promises in 2 : 26, 27 ; 3 : 21, in their connection and in comparison with other parallel promises (2 : 7, 17, etc.), do not suggest a literal reigning on earth ; and on the other hand according to 1 : 6 and 5 : 10, it would seem that Christians are already kings and priests to God (20 : 6).

Significance of the conception to us

But however our author may have imagined the thousand years' reign, and whether he shaped it, or found it already present in the midst of some account of Satan's overthrow which he wished to use, we ourselves ought certainly to value it only for the distinctively Christian truth which it images forth, namely, that the conquest of evil and real rulership in this world belong to Christ and to those who truly belong to him. Here again we find the essential truth of the apocalypses to be contained in the Beatitudes of Jesus.

[1] This at least seems to be Paul's conception of the purpose of Christ's reign (1 Cor. 15 : 20–28).

20. *The Fall of Satan* (20: 1–10)

The binding of Satan (1–3)

Then I saw an angel come down and seize Satan, the first tempter of man, the prime spirit of evil, and chain and lock him in the abyss for a thousand years, after which he must have freedom for a last short time. Then I saw the heavenly court of Daniel's vision,[1] many thrones on which as judges sat not angels, but Christian martyrs, whom Rome had killed for their fidelity to Jesus.[2] These only were raised from the dead, having the peculiar reward of sharing in the thousand years' reign of Christ.

The earthly reign of Christ and the martyrs (4–6)

Overthrow of Satan and his hosts (7–10)

When this is ended Satan shall be loosed and shall attempt that last assault upon the city and people of God of which Ezekiel wrote.[3] But when the hosts of Gog and Magog which he leads shall surround Jerusalem, fire from heaven shall consume them ;[4] and Satan himself shall be doomed to eternal torment, in company with the beasts, his instruments, the Roman empire and religion.[5]

[1] Dan. 7 : 9, 10.

[2] In Daniel also it is the saints who receive the kingdom (7 : 18, 22, 27), and among them are risen martyrs, 12 : 2, 3.

[3] Ezek. 38–39.

[4] Ezek. 38 : 22 ; 39 : 6. In Ezekiel Gog is prince of the land of Magog. The reference here is to the outstanding barbarian hordes remaining after the destruction of the Roman empire.

[5] This final miraculous deliverance of the Christian community fulfils the many predictions of Jehovah's intervention on behalf of Jerusalem in its extremity (*e.g.*, Isa. 14 : 24–27 ; 17 : 12–14 ; Ps. 46 ; 48). The whole account (with 19 : 19–21 and 16 : 12–16) is closely parallel to En. 56.

21. *The Last Judgment* (20 : 11–15)

Final resurrection and judgment (11–15)

Then I had a vision of God on his throne,[1] and of the last judgment over all men, according to their deeds, as God perfectly knew and reckoned them.[2] All the dead without exception appeared at this judgment. This is the end of death and Hades,[3] for those who now do not enter into blessedness will suffer no longer the old death, but a new sort of death, "the lake of fire," which swallows up death itself and all the powers of evil.[4]

VI

VISIONS OF THE BLESSED CONSUMMATION

1. *Sources and Growth of the Hope of the New Jerusalem*

Sources and character of the description of the new heaven and earth

The description of the final blessedness of the faithful, which has been anticipated in brief in 7 : 9–17, as well as in the promises to him that overcometh, in chapters 2–3, falls into two parts, 21 : 1–8, which has the character of a summary of what follows, and bears evidence of coming

[1] Cf. Isa. 6 : 1; Dan. 7 : 9–10.

[2] For the image of the heavenly books see 3 : 5; 13 : 8; 17 : 8, "book of life;" and Dan. 7 : 10; En. 90 : 20; 98 : 7 f.; 104 : 7; 89 : 61–64, 68, 70 f., 76 f.; 47 : 3; Apoc. Baruch 24 : 1; 2 Esd. 6 : 20.

[3] The prediction of the end of death in the Messianic age is found in Isa. 25 : 8, and in Paul, 1 Cor. 15 : 26, 54 f.; cf. 2 Tim. 1 : 10.

[4] See En. 90 : 20–27, a similar picture of the judgment over angels and men.

directly from our author's hand, and 21 : 9–22 : 9, the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem, which apart from a few phrases could be from a Jewish as well as from a Christian writer, and in any case shows dependence on a traditional use of prophetic language. The imagery here employed is largely taken from the predictions of the exilic prophets, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, regarding the return and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. It is interesting to compare this composition with Tobit 13, where a somewhat similar collection of Old Testament images is made.[1] We can imagine one whose mind was steeped in the Messianic language of these prophets using their language in a free, poetic way, as the most impressive imagery at his command to suggest a consummation quite unearthly in character. It is evident, after chapter 20, that it is no earthly hope that inspires him. It is only in a new heaven and earth that the fulfilment of the prophetic hopes is looked for. Yet the language of sense and of present conditions is used as the only language available, and as most suggestive and emotionally impressive, just because it is sacred and ancient and familiar. Two things then are important for a historical appreciation of these chapters. One is to bear in mind the constant use of Old Testament language, the allusions and reminiscences with which the passage is full. The other is to feel the emotion of the writer and sympathize with his effort through the sense symbols that

Paths to a right understanding of the chapters

[1] See also Ps. Sol. 17 : 28 ff., and Sibyl. Or. 5 : 247–85, 414–33.

Scripture and tradition offered to suggest spiritual and in reality inexpressible joys. The underlying reality that gives its marvellous power to this accumulation of sensible imagery is that which also in Old Testament prophecy was the kernel and essence of hope, the presence of God and the expectation of a real vision of him and a close communion with him in the life to come.

Rise of the conception of a heavenly Jerusalem

The idea of the heavenly Jerusalem is one whose history we should try to trace. It goes back to the simple idea of the restoration of Jerusalem after its first fall. But Ezekiel, the first to predict the restoration, already describes the new city in a fashion that transcends the old and contains supernatural features.[1] The prophet sees it in vision, and an angel measures it and explains it. The new city will be in a different sense from the old the dwelling-place of the glory of God. Its new name is to be, "Jehovah is there." After this in various forms, according to existing conditions, the idea of a new Jerusalem belonged to the Messianic hope. Sometimes it was only the hope of a morally purified Jerusalem,[2] but often the hope contained suggestions of an unearthly glory.[3] The more glorious the new city was imagined to be, the more natural to ascribe it directly to God's workmanship, and finally to think of it as already made in heaven, and only waiting

[1] Chs. 40–48. [2] Isa. 52 : 1 ; cf. Ps. Sol. 17 : 25, 33.

[3] Isa. 54 : 11, 12 ; 60 : 10–14 ; Jer. 31 : 38–40 ; Hag. 2 : 7–9 ; Zech. 2 : 1–5 ; cf. Tobit 13 : 16–18 ; 14 : 5.

to be revealed, or to descend to earth. The idea that the new city is the direct work of God is contained in Enoch 90 : 28–29 ; but the idea of a pre-existing heavenly Jerusalem is not clearly expressed in extant Jewish literature until after the second destruction of the city in 70 A. D.[1] Paul, however, attests the currency of the idea before that event (Gal. 4 : 26). It would be an easy step from this to the use of the name Jerusalem for heaven itself, when this, and not the earthly city however glorified, came to be regarded as the final abode of the saints with God.[2]

In the New Testament the conception appears in at least two different forms. In Hebrews 11 : 10–16 ; 12 : 22 ; 13 : 14, it is not a heavenly city which is to descend to earth in the Messianic age, as in Revelation 21 : 2 ; 21 : 9 ff. ; 3 : 12, but it is the heavenly counterpart of the earthly city, the eternal reality of which the literal city is but a shadow; it is, in other words, spiritualized and has become a name of the heavenly world itself. Perhaps Paul's idea in Galatians 4 : 26 is rather that of Hebrews than that of Revelation. But even in Revelation the heavenly city remains heavenly in character though it descends to earth. The new earth is to him, in substance, hardly more than a name for heaven.

One root of this conception may be found in the idea of the heavenly patterns of the Tabernacle and its fur-

[1] 2 Esd. 7 : 26 ; 13 : 36 ; 8 : 52 ; 10 : 44–59 ; Apoc. Bar. 4 : 2–6 ; 32 : 2–4.
[2] See Secrets of Enoch 55 : 2.

nishings (Ex. 25 : 9, 40) ; another in the gradual supernaturalizing of the Jewish hope ; and still another in the Hellenistic (Platonic) idea of heavenly counterparts of earthly things. Out of such various roots we should not expect a very simple and consistent product.

The measurements of the city and its wall (21 : 16–17) are hard to explain. The conception of a city in the shape of a cube, 1,379 miles in each direction, surrounded by a wall 216 feet high, is little else than grotesque. In Ezekiel, on whose description our writer depends, the new city measures 4,500 cubits square, that is about 7,875 feet, or a mile and a half.[1] It has been suggested that our author conceived of the city as on the top of a great mountain (cf. Isa. 2 : 2).[2] It is possible, however, that the word "height" is a gloss added by someone who did not picture the city at all, but regarded the description as purely symbolic, and so wished it to have the perfect symmetry of the Holy of Holies in the temple. It may be worth noting that if the earthly Jerusalem were made the centre of a great city, 1,379 miles square, it would just include Asia Minor on the west and north, Babylon on the east, and Egypt, far below Thebes, on the south. Could the author have imagined that the new Jerusalem would be a great city covering almost the whole world of Jewish and Christian history except Italy and Greece?[3] This would involve

[1] Ezekiel's cubit is probably $1\frac{3}{4}$ feet (40 : 5). [2] Also Ezek. 40 : 2 ; 43 : 12.
[3] Perhaps Rome was thought to involve these countries in its destruction.

the removal of the Mediterranean Sea (21 : 1). Ezekiel's vision involved a transformed Palestine, but this would mean a transformed earth.

If this suggestion is not acceptable, and if the number, 12,000, is original, we must suppose that the author did not mean to describe an imaginable city, but was using language in a purely symbolical sense.

Poetic value of the prophet's pictures of the future

In general our writer uses the familiar Messianic language of the Old Testament, in a wholly figurative sense, without minding the inappropriate and inconsistent character of its literal meaning. All men have received their final reward (20 : 11–15), and heaven and earth have passed away (21 : 1), and yet the writer can speak of nations and kings and their gifts, and can describe what must be a heavenly consummation in the language in which the prophets described Palestine in the hoped-for time of its glory. Such language was the best the writer knew by which to convey his hope. It was, indeed, fitted to convey only the emotion of his hope, not its intellectual contents. Just this is indeed its value still for us. We have no better language than his in which to suggest the inconceivable glory and blessedness of the final life of the soul with God. It is actually to our great advantage that the Jewish prophets and poets expected an earthly consummation, for they were able to give to this a vivid, concrete emotional expression, and the language of beauty and feeling in which they voiced their hope is a far more adequate expression of our more

ideal aspirations than we could create for ourselves. Figurative language is the only language in which we can express our hope of heaven, and no figures can have greater power to suggest this hope than those taken from the literal longings of exiled Israel for the recovery of its land and city.

2. *Pictures of the Life to Come* (21 : 1–22 : 9)

The new heaven and earth and city (21 : 1–2)

I saw a new heaven and a new earth, the old having passed away,[1] and the sea was no more.[2] And I saw the heavenly Jerusalem descending as the bride of Christ. This image was interpreted to me by an angelic voice as

God dwells with man (21 : 3-4)

meaning that God would now dwell among men [3] and remove from them all sorrow,[4] bringing the first things to an end, and making all new.[5]

God attests the truth of this expectation (21 : 5–8)

God himself affirmed that he now makes all new,[6] and charged me confidently to write that the fulfilment is come, declaring himself to be the first and the last [7] and

[1] Isa. 65 : 17 ; 66 : 22. For the idea of the destruction of heaven and earth see Isa. 34 : 4 ; 51 : 6 ; En. 45 : 4 f. ; 72 : 1 ; 91 : 16 ; 2 Esd. 7 : 31, and commonly in the New Testament.

[2] This striking conception may go back to the idea of the ocean as the original power of chaos, the element of the great spirit of evil.

[3] This is the ultimate aim of the Old Testament law, and the sum of the Old Testament hope. Lev. 26 : 11, 12 ; Ezek. 37 : 27 ; 43 : 7 ; Ex. 25 : 8 ; 29 : 45 ; Zech. 2 : 10–11 ; 8 : 3.

[4] Isa. 25 : 8 ; 35 : 10 ; 65 : 19. [5] Isa. 65 : 17 ; 66 : 22.

[6] Isa. 43 : 19 ; cf. 2 Cor. 5 : 17.

[7] Here of God as in Isa. 44 : 6 ; 48 : 12 ; in 1 : 17 ; 2 : 8 ; 22 : 13, of Christ.

the giver of the water of life to the thirsty.[1] The conqueror shall be heir of such things, and I will be his God and he my son.[2] But the part of all who deny their Christian faith and of all the impure and sinful will be in the lake of fire, the place of Satan and his servants,[3] the second death.

Vision of the heavenly Jerusalem (21:9–22:9)

As one of the angels of the bowls had shown me in a vision Rome, the harlot-city, and her overthrow, so one of them now shows me from a mountain-top[4] the Jerusalem that is to descend from God, the pure bride of Christ. The glory of God was hers,[5] so that she was illuminated by a white sparkling light like that of a diamond,[6] the light that best symbolizes the presence of God (4:3).

Descent of the city (21:9–11)

Its structure (21:12–14)

It has great walls, and twelve gates, three on each side of its square, each bearing the name of one of the twelve tribes,[7] and twelve foundation stones, one for each part between the gates, on which were the names of the twelve apostles. And the angel measured the city with a golden reed,[8] and found it a cube, 12,000 stadia, 1,379 miles, in

Its measurements (21:15–17)

[1] Isa. 55:1.

[2] 2 Sam. 7:14; and see Ps. 89:26–27; Zech. 8:8, and many Old Testament passages. Also 2 Cor. 6:16.

[3] See 14:9–11; Matt. 25:41; En. 90:26; 48:9; Secrets of Enoch 10; cf. Isa. 66:24.

[4] See the opening of Ezekiel's vision of the restored Jerusalem, 40:2.

[5] In Ezek. 43:2, 4, 5, the glory of Jehovah, that is his manifest presence, enters the new city and takes up its abode in the temple; cf. Isa. 60:1–3.

[6] This and not our jasper is probably meant.

[7] This is from Ezek. 48:31–34.

[8] Ezek. 40:3.

length, breadth and height,[1] while the wall was 144 cubits, 216 feet, in height, human and angelic measures being the same.

Glorious appearance of the city (21:18–21)

The wall was of diamond, and the city was like transparent gold. The twelve foundation stones were twelve jewels,[2] namely those that adorn the high-priest's breastplate.[3] Each of the twelve gates was a single pearl, and the streets transparent gold.

No temple or sun (21:22–23)

There is no temple in this Jerusalem because God himself and Christ are there ;[4] nor is there need of other light than their glory.[5]

Its open gates (21:24–27)

Heathen nations shall walk by the light of the city, and kings shall bring their treasure into its ever-open gates.[6]

[1] Even if we suppose the 12,000 stadia to measure the circumference, which is improbable, the city would be a cube of 345 miles in each direction.

[2] Isa. 54:11, 12 ; cf. Tobit 13:16, 17.

[3] Ex. 28:17–21 ; 39:10–14 ; cf. Ezek. 28:13.

[4] When God dwells among men, the temple, which stands for his presence now while he is really absent, shall lose its meaning. The temple is displaced by the throne. There is no parallel to this in Jewish literature, but only such preparations for it as Jer. 3:16 ; Isa. 66:1 ; cf. Acts 7:48–50 ; Mk. 13:2 ; John 4:21. In Ezekiel's vision the temple was not in the city, but its separateness was meant only to secure its purity and heighten its significance.

[5] Isa. 60:19, 20 ; cf. Isa. 24:23 ; En. 1:8 ; 38:4. There is much use of Isa. 60 in vv. 22–27.

[6] This is taken over from prophecy (Isa. 60:3, 5–7, 11, 16 ; 61:6 f. ; 66: 12 ; cf. Ps. 72:10–11 ; Ps. Sol. 17:34–35 ; En. 90:30 ; 10:21 ; Tob. 13:11) in spite of the fact that, after 20:11–15 ; 21:1, there can be in the literal sense no nations and kings left, and none who are outside of the city except those who are in the lake of fire.

Yet shall nothing unclean enter it[1] nor any who are not destined to eternal life.

The river and tree of life (22:1–2)

The river of running water which Ezekiel[2] saw issuing from the temple I beheld flowing from the throne (perhaps from the transparent sea before the throne, 4:6); and along the middle of the streets of the city and on both sides of the river grew the tree of life, that was in Eden (2:7), bearing fruit twelve times a year, for the twelve tribes (*i.e.*, for the whole community of believers), the fruit being for food and the leaf for healing.[3]

The blessed life (22:3–5)

And there shall be no more curse,[4] and God himself and Christ shall be there[5] and his servants[6] will serve him, and see him[7] and bear his name (7:3–4; 14:1). And there where there is no night,[8] in the constant light of God, they shall live and reign forever.[9]

[1] Isa. 52:1; Ezek. 44:9; Isa. 35:8; 60:21; Joel 3:17; Zech. 14:20, 21; Ps. Sol. 17:29, 31, 33, 36.

[2] The picture of the river going from the throne and the trees by its banks is taken from Ezekiel's vision of the ever-broadening stream issuing from the temple (47:1–12) and from Zech. 14:8.

[3] This is all taken from Ezek. 47:12; cf. En. 25:4–6.

[4] Zech. 14:11; cf. En. 91:17; 92:5; 107:1.

[5] On the dwelling of God with men in the Messianic age see Ezek. 37:26, 27; 43:7; Zech. 2:10; 8:3; En. 62:14; 105:2; 45:4–6; Rev. 7:15–17.

[6] It appears as if "and of the Lamb" were added to an older description, for the singular number follows, *his* servants, etc. The same suggestion is natural in 21:22, 23; 22:1.

[7] See Ps. 17:15; 11:7, and such hopes as Ps. 16:11; 140:13; 42:2; see Matt. 5:8; 1 John 3:2.

[8] Isa. 60:19–20; Zech. 14:7.

[9] See Dan. 7:18, 27. So the blessed life in the final consummation can still be

The certainty and nearness of these promises (22:6–7)

The angel gave new assurance of the truth of this revelation, and the immediacy of its fulfilment (1 : 1) adding, as if it were Christ himself who spoke in the angel, Behold I come quickly (3 : 11). Blessed is he who keeps this prophecy (1 : 3). And I John (1 : 9), when I heard and saw these things, would again worship the revealing angel, who seemed the very spirit of Christ, but he again refused my adoration (19 : 10), and identified himself rather with us who are prophets and with all faithful fellow Christians. God only, he said, is to be worshipped.[1]

The angel will not be worshipped (22:8–9)

VII

CONCLUDING WARNINGS AND PROMISES (22 : 10–21)

Nearness and finality of Christ's judgment (22: 10–15)

And he said,[2] do not seal this book and keep it secret, for it concerns no distant day,[3] but must be read at once.

called a reigning, as was that of the martyrs in the 1000 years, 20:6. In Wisd. Sol. 6 : 19–21, there is an interesting passage in which "reigning forever" is parallel to being near unto God and apparently a symbol for it.

[1] It is evident that here, as in Col. 1–2, and Heb. 1–2, there is a polemic against a current angel worship.

[2] In vv. 10–19, though at first we should suppose the angel to be speaking, it is evident that the speaker is Christ himself. The whole book indeed is put forth as Christ's revelation through an angel (1:1), so that the angel's personality could easily lose itself in that of him whose message and voice he was. The words of 10–15 could equally well be those of God.

[3] The sealing of an apocalypse belonged to the pseudepigraphic device. It explained how it could be that a book which assumed to be written so long ago was only now known and read (Dan. 8:26; 12:4, 9).

Everyone must now keep the character he has gained,[1] the time both for repentance and for apostasy being past, for now I come to reward each according to his deeds.[2] As creation was my work, so also will judgment be.[3] Blessed are those who are pure and so have access to life and blessedness, from which all the impure are cut off (21 : 8).

The book contains the message of Jesus himself (22 : 16)

I, Jesus, am the one who has revealed all this through my angel, I who am the promised Messiah and the chief of heavenly beings.[4]

The message is a free invitation to all (22 : 17)

The divine spirit of prophecy and the church unite in inviting all men to the blessedness of eternal life.[5]

The words of this book are inviolable (22 : 18–19)

I, the writer,[6] affirm that one who adds to or takes from this book will be excluded from eternal life.

The end is near (22 : 20)

Christ, the real author of this revelation, affirms again,

[1] Cf. Dan. 12 : 10; Ezek. 3 : 27. [2] Isa. 40 : 10; 62 : 11; Ps. 62 : 12, etc.

[3] See 1 : 17; 2 : 8; Isa. 44 : 6; 48 : 12. The attribute of eternity is carried over from God to Christ. See also 2 Esd. 5 : 56–6 : 6.

[4] Cf. Num. 24 : 17.

[5] Isa. 55 : 1; John 7 : 37; 4 : 14.

[6] It is not improbable that this extreme curse was added by an editor. It is an unfortunate ending of a book whose value consists in the spirit that breathes in it, the bold faith and confident hope it inspires, rather than in the literalness and finality of its disclosures. Such claims belong to law (see Deut. 4 : 2; 12 : 32) rather than to prophecy, in which there is always a large conditional element and a free play of imagination. We may suppose that some reaction against such eschatology as this book contains, or the opposition of a different hope, more spiritual, or perhaps more friendly to Rome (2 : 20), occasioned this addition. The apocalyptical literature was peculiarly liable to alterations and perversions in the interest of rival sects, such as are referred to in Enoch 104 : 10–13.

I come quickly; and the response of his believing servants is, Yea, come, Lord Jesus.[1]

The benediction (as in the letters of Paul) closes the book.

[1] We have the Aramaic phrase which was in current use to express this eager longing of primitive Christianity, Maranatha, "our Lord come," in 1 Cor. 16:22, and as part of the liturgy of the Lord's Supper in Didache 10:6. A like longing and prayer for the coming of God moved the Israelitish psalmists and prophets in like times of peculiar trial. See Isa. 62:11; 40:10; Ps. 50:3; 96:13; 98:9; 101:2; 70:5; 38:22.

UNCANONICAL APOCALYPSES

UNCANONICAL APOCALYPSES

I

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the apocalyptical literature in its form, its material, and its spirit and purpose, it is essential to extend one's reading beyond the limits of the canon. The attempt is made here, therefore, under limitations which will be readily appreciated, to give some impression of the character and contents of the most important Jewish apocalypses and the only Christian one which made serious claims to a place in the canon.

The problem of apocalyptical elements in Gospels and Epistles

Among the tasks that our limits do not permit us to undertake, one seems to call for a word of explanation. After the study of the apocalypses proper it would be in order to investigate the apocalyptical elements in other New Testament books, especially in the Gospels and in the Epistles of Paul, and to seek to determine the place of apocalyptical conceptions in the mind of Christ and among the moving forces of primitive Christianity. If we regarded Matthew 24, with Isaac Williams, as "the anchor of apocalyptic interpretation," or, as Alford adds, as "the touchstone of apocalyptic systems," we could not

omit in any study of the Book of Revelation to set forth its relationship to this chapter. Alford assumes that our Lord here gives in clear outline the main points of the history of the church, and he regards Revelation as essentially an expansion of this primary and authoritative Christian apocalypse. But in the present state of historical studies in the Gospels it is not possible to proceed on the assumption either that this chapter was uttered in its present form and sequence by Jesus, or that he made any forecast that reached beyond the fall of Jerusalem and the Jewish state. The problem is involved in such difficult critical complications that a summary treatment of it is impracticable. It cannot be separated from the whole great subject of the Messianic and apocalyptical elements in the thought and teaching of Jesus.[1] It must suffice here to remind ourselves that, at all events, Jesus certainly appeared and preached openly, like the prophets of old; that he did not write books, nor regard himself as called to be an interpreter of books; that he neither hid himself nor made a mystery of his teachings or an esoteric sect of his disciples; that he found good already stronger than evil in the world; that he worked for the salvation of his people from sin rather than waiting for their salvation from Rome, whose rule, indeed, he did not think inconsistent with the rule of God;

[1] Muirhead's *Eschatology of Jesus* (London, 1904) may be recommended as a cautious and scholarly treatment of some of the elements involved in this great problem.

that he was not anxious for the morrow, nor curious about the day of the Lord's coming; and that he rebuked the spirit of ambition and of revenge. All this means that his spirit and his message were essentially prophetic in distinction from apocalyptic in character. On the other hand it remains true and significant—and the following brief survey of uncanonical apocalypses will make this only clearer—that the Jewish apocalyptical world of fancy and feeling entered deeply into the mind and heart of early Christianity

II

THE BOOK OF ENOCH

1. *Some Points about the Book*

Importance of the Book of Enoch

The Book of Enoch is the most important pre-Christian Jewish apocalypse, and as it arose between Daniel and Revelation and casts much light on the development of this sort of literature it is not out of place to attempt a somewhat full account of its contents.

Composition and history of the book

It is not a single book, but a collection of writings in the name of Enoch, giving the revelations he received when he walked with God concerning the mysteries of the angel world, the forces and operations of nature, the future judgment and the consummation. There are also a number of insertions that belonged to another line of apocalyptical

writing in which Noah was the central figure. The book dates from about the beginning to the latter part of the first century before Christ. It was written, certainly in part, in Aramaic. It was current in early Christian communities in a Greek translation. It survives as a whole only in an Ethiopic version of the Greek. Chapters 1–32, however, have been recovered in Greek. It is once cited in the New Testament (Jude 14–15 = En. 1 : 9), and was highly valued as a genuine revelation by the ancient church.

Editions

The best English edition is that of Professor R. H. Charles, whose analyses and dates, however, must not be accepted as final. The translations of Lawrence (Oxford, 1821) and of Schodde (Andover, 1882) still give one a fairly correct general idea of the book.

2. *The Coming Judgment and Rewards* (1–5)

This is a little apocalypse in itself. It serves well to introduce the Enoch literature, for it touches many of the themes that are elaborated afterward. It may, however, be one of the oldest documents of that literature, for the consummation is wholly of this earth. A similar primitive and simple eschatology is found again in chapters 10–11 and 25, but elsewhere the other world displaces this.

The coming judgment (1)

Enoch saw a vision of God in heaven, shown him by angels, and gave utterance to it, not for his contemporaries, but for men of the remote future. His message is the

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coming of the Day of the Lord. Fearful will be his appearance. Angels will tremble, the earth will shake, and all that is on it will perish. But for the righteous God's coming will be a blessing. He will come with myriads of angels and will destroy all the wicked.[1]

Nature condemns man (2 : 1–5 : 6)

The unnaturalness of man's sin is made evident by its contrast to the uniformity and fidelity of nature. The stars in their courses, the vegetation that follows the seasons in their round, the seas and rivers, all observe without fail the ordinance of God. Only sinners have disobeyed God's law and spoken against him. Therefore destruction will come upon them.

The reward of the righteous in the Messianic age (5 : 7–9)

But the righteous will inherit the earth. Wisdom will be given them, and they will be kept from sin. No evil will befall them, but they will reach old age in peace and happiness.

3. *The Fall of the Angels and the Origin of Evil* (6–16)

In chapters 6–16 we have accounts of the myth of the fall of certain angels through marriage with human women. There is a fragment of the myth in Genesis 6 : 1–4. It is not certain whether the Enoch writers simply elaborated this, or also had knowledge through tradition of fuller forms of the story. It is certain that our writers found the explanation of sin and evil in man—so unique and out of place in God's world—in this story rather than in the

[1] This verse, 1 : 9, is cited in Jude 14–15 as a saying of Enoch.

account of Adam's fall. The section falls into two parts. In chapters 6–11 Enoch is not mentioned and there seems to be no place for his mediatorship, which is a chief theme of chapters 12–16. The former section may belong to a Noah-circle of apocalyptical tradition. It is itself composite. In one part Semjaza is leader of the fallen angels, in another Azazel. Evidently the subject was a favorite one, and was much worked over.

Our brief paraphrase will not enter into the question of analysis, but will simply show how our writers treated the theme and answered various questions which are not dealt with in Genesis, though the original story must have included them, such as the deeds and destiny of the giants, the punishment of the angels, the effects of their transgression upon man. It will be noticed that these effects include, besides the misleading of the women, the teaching of forbidden and harmful secrets, acts of violence, and the production of demons, permanent mischief-makers among men.

(1) *The Sin and Punishment of the Angels* (6–11)

The fall of the angels (6–7)

Certain angels resolved to gratify their unnatural lust after human women. Under Semjaza, two hundred bound themselves by an oath to fulfil this purpose. They descended in the days of Jared [1] upon the top of Mount

[1] The father of Enoch (Gen. 5 : 15–20). There is a play on words here. Jarad, to descend = Jared.

Hermon, so called because of their oath (*herem*). They took wives and taught them enchantments and medical lore. Their sons were giants of prodigious size, who ate up man's gains and began to eat man himself. They were the incarnation of foulness and violence.

The angels also taught men the arts of war, and of luxurious living, and of magic. Teachings of the angels (8)

The cry of men in their distress reached the four archangels, who recounted the evil deeds of Azazel and his associates and of the giants before God, and interceded with him on behalf of men. The prayer of the oppressed (9)

God charged one of them, Rafael, to bind Azazel and confine him under rocks in the desert until the day of judgment, and to heal the earth of his corrupting works. Gabriel is charged to bring destruction upon the giants by inciting them to a murderous warfare against one another. Their angel fathers will witness their destruction before they are themselves bound under the hills, from which they will be loosed only to be destroyed at last in the abyss of fire.[1] After the angel has destroyed all violence and evil, the Messianic age will dawn. Then the righteous will have long life and many children, vines and olive trees will bear abundantly, and all seed a thousand fold, righteousness will be universal, and all nations will worship God. Then heavenly blessings will descend upon men. Imprisonment of angels and slaying of the giants (10 : 1–15) The Messianic age (10 : 16–11 : 2)

[1] See Jude 6; 2 Pet. 2 : 4.

(2) *Enoch's Mission to the Angels* (12–16)

Enoch goes to announce judgment to the angels (12:1 13:3)

Enoch was "walking with the Elohim"[1] when one of them charged him to announce to the fallen angels God's approaching judgment. He went therefore and told Azazel and the others that they were to be bound for their sins against men. Then they prayed Enoch to petition God on their behalf, for sin had shut them off from God's presence. So he wrote their petition and read it, sitting by the river Dan [Judgment], until he received an answer in a dream vision. He then came and told it to them.

He brings back an intercession on their behalf (13 : 4–10)

He reports to them the result of his intercession

The answer is that the petition is not granted. These angels are never again to ascend into heaven. After seeing the destruction of their sons they are to be bound in the earth.

His vision of God (14)

The vision is then told in detail. Enoch is transported into heaven. This is a place of fire and light, splendid and terrible in its shining glory. God himself cannot be seen or approached even by the angels who stand before him, but is surrounded by fire. Yet even this God with his own mouth summoned and addressed the man Enoch.

and God's sentence on the angels (15–16)

He charged him to tell the fallen angels that they ought to intercede for men, not men for them. Their sin was most unnatural, for marriage and children were meant for

[1] Gen. 5 : 22–25 was understood of his intercourse with angels. Notice the striking conception of a man interceding for angels and becoming the revealer to them of the meaning and consequences of their sins.

those who are subject to death, not for immortal spirits.[1] And now the giants, offspring of this unnatural union, half human, half divine, will become, after the death of their mortal bodies, evil spirits, demons, doing all sorts of harm to men, until the last judgment.

4. *Visions of the Secrets of Nature and of the Future* (17–36)

Chapters 17–36 describe Enoch's journeys through earth and the unseen realms and the secrets of nature and of the places of future punishment and reward which were revealed to him. Here also are two partly parallel and perhaps independent accounts, 17–19 and 20–36. In the second, chapter 22 is isolated and peculiar. It is an account of Hades in which, in accordance with Greek, but not with Hebrew notions, preliminary rewards and punishments are experienced by the souls of the dead. On the other hand, in chapter 25 the Messianic age is described in the simple earthly form we have met in chapters 5 and 10–11. All this makes it appear that the book is a collection rather than an original composition.

(1) *Enoch's First Journey* (17–19)

In the first journey (chs. 17–19) Enoch saw the secret places of thunder and lightning, the great ocean stream, and all the waters that are about and beneath the earth. His visit to the secret places of earth and heaven (17–19)

[1] Cf. Matt. 22 : 30.

He saw the chambers of the winds, the corner-stone of the earth and the four winds on which earth and heaven rest as on pillars, and the winds that turn the sky about and those that bear the clouds. He visited the seven wonderful mountains in the south, of which the middle one was like God's throne; and finally the terrible places where heaven and earth end, and where the seven stars that have transgressed their orbits [1] are imprisoned, together with the fallen angels of Genesis 6, whose wives will become sirens.

(2) *Enoch's Second Journey* (20–36)

His further sight of mysterious places and things

In the second journey (chs. 20–36), after giving the names and offices of the six (seven?) archangels (ch. 20), Enoch describes first the place where the seven transgressing angels are bound, and the final place of punishment of angels (ch. 21). He then sees Hades as a place with four divisions, two for the righteous and two for the wicked. The pleasantest place, with a spring of water in it, was for the righteous who have unjustly suffered in this life; and the worst place was for the wicked who have unjustly prospered. The rest of the wicked, those who have already on earth been punished for their sins, will not rise at the judgment, nor suffer any severer penalty.[2] He then sees

[1] "Wandering stars," Jude 13. This seems to be one of the various myths based on the seven irregularly moving heavenly bodies, sun, moon, and five planets, known to antiquity.

[2] This chapter is interesting as being the oldest picture of Hades in Jewish writings which makes it properly an intermediate state, and one with a posi-

(ch. 23) the fiery river (milky way ?), and the seven mountains where God's throne is, encircled by trees, one of which is the tree of life, which in the coming age will be transplanted to Jerusalem, and give long life and gladness to the righteous (24–25). He then sees Jerusalem where the righteous are to dwell, and the valley of Hinnom where they will behold God's just judgments on apostate Jews (26–27). Then travelling eastward past mountains with trees of various properties (28–31) he comes to the Garden of Eden with the tree of wisdom of which Adam and Eve ate (32). Then he goes to the ends of the earth, first on the east where were the gates through which the stars came, whose names and laws the angel taught him (33); then on the north with three gates for the north winds (34). There are like portals for the winds in each direction, and at the east (and west ?) small gates above them for the stars (35–36).

5. *The Book of Astronomy* (72–82)

Studies of the courses of the heavenly bodies

Here Enoch gives the courses of the luminaries of heaven, their classes, their dominion and seasons, their names and places of origin, as Uriel showed them to him. In brief this crude attempt at science treats first of the sun and explains the varying lengths of day and night through the year, and the varying positions of the sun (72). Then the

tive contents of good and ill, or better and worse, for the "spirits" or "souls" of men. Greek influence is probable here.

perplexing course of the moon is taken up and an elaborate attempt made to adjust it to that of the sun (73–74). Then intercalary days are treated,[1] and further details about the sun and its varying warmth (75).

The twelve portals of the winds are explained and the different powers and effects of each of the twelve winds (76). The four quarters of the earth are described, and the seven great mountains, rivers and islands (77). The writer then returns to the sun and moon, especially the latter's waxing and waning (78–79). So far his interest seems to be solely in the observation and explanation of the facts, to which he has evidently given much study. But the underlying interest even here is eschatological and ethical. So he now goes on to explain that nature does not altogether observe these laws—the facts do not wholly match his theories—and this is due to sin, which has introduced an element of perversity and disorder into nature itself [2] (80). It is revealed to Enoch that it is safe to hold to righteousness and that the wicked will surely die (81). Enoch then commends his books and their wisdom to his son, affirms the truth, against those who deny it, of his reckoning of the year as 364 days, and of his whole angelic astronomical system (82).

Sin in nature

[1] The writer's year is 364 days.

[2] Compare Rom. 8 : 19–22 ; and see 2 Esd. 5 : 1–13.

6. *The Dream Visions* (83–90)

In two dreams Enoch foresaw the whole course of human history. The first is a vision of the Flood, after which he prays for the survival of the righteous seed (chs. 83–84). The second vision is an allegory of the history of man from the beginning to the end. Behind a self-evident though clumsy and inartistic disguise of figure, the Old Testament history is summarized. The most interesting parts of this vision concern the seventy angel shepherds, and the problem of determining just what conditions were present to the author, and so fixing his date. Just before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans (about the time of Jeremiah's prediction of a seventy years' exile, Jeremiah 25 : 12 ; 29 : 10), God gave the Israelites into the keeping of seventy angels, each of which was to have charge for a fixed time (89 : 59 ff.). It is evident that in some way these angels represent the foreign kings to whom the Jews were subject.[1] They are commissioned to chastise Israel, but they overpass their charge and afflict the people beyond the measure of God's purpose. All this excess is recorded against them in the heavenly books. God does not now restrain them, but he will punish them hereafter. This transgression of the angels of foreign kingdoms is the explanation of the evils that Israel suffered from the exile onward. The seventy shepherds rule in four groups

The seventy angel-princes

[1] They may be called "depotentiated heathen gods" (Beer).

of 12, 23, 23 and 12. The first group covers the Exile itself. The twenty-three seem to stand for Persian rule from the rebuilding of the temple (89 : 72) to the conquest of Alexander (90 : 2). The third group, beginning with Alexander, extends to a time not definitely fixed during the Greek (Ptolemaic and Seleucid) rule, when the last group is introduced by the birth of some Jews who "began to open their eyes and to cry" to their fellow-countrymen (90 : 6). This is evidently the beginning of the enlightened and protesting sect or party to which our writer belongs.[1]

Indications of the writer's date

The verses that follow (90 : 7 ff.) are hopelessly obscure. They should reveal the situation and date of the writer, but unless the Greek text is found their riddle will probably remain unanswered. One notable martyr is alluded to (90 : 8)[2], and then a great leader of the writer's party is described (90 : 9 ff.), whom some identify as Judas, some as John Hyrcanus, but who may be a later hero. If the party is that of the Pharisees, verse 9 might refer to their gaining power through admission to the Sanhedrim. The great leader is described almost as a warrior Messiah, such as the Messiah son of Joseph in later tradition. His wars lead directly over to the Day of Jehovah (v. 18), which follows the period of the last twelve shepherd-angels. It

[1] Schürer thinks these the Maccabees (165 B. C.), Charles, the Chasidim, who originated some time earlier, about 200 B. C., when the Seleucid displaced the Ptolemaic rule over Palestine.

[2] Onias III, the high-priest, or Eleazar, the Chasid martyr of 2 Mac. 6?

would seem, therefore, that the writer was either a contemporary of this leader and his wars,[1] or predicts his rise as close at hand. It is not possible to date the book by this passage in the present condition of the text.

Eschatological features

According to the writer's forecast, God, who has helped the great warrior (v. 15), himself comes in judgment after the seventy angels have ruled in turn. The righteous are given power to slay their enemies (90 : 18–19).[2] Then the last judgment takes place, first over the sinning angels of Genesis 6, and over the seventy angels of Israel's foreign oppressors, who were cast into a fiery abyss ; then over apostate Jews who are punished in the like fiery valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem (90 : 20–27).

Then God removes the old Jerusalem and puts a new and greater Jerusalem in its place, in which he himself dwells (90 : 28–29). The heathen who remain do homage to Israel. Enoch himself and Elijah are brought from Paradise to join the Messianic community. Righteousness and peace prevail, and all are enlightened with the saving wisdom which at present only the few possess (90 : 30–36). Then the Messiah is born and becomes the acknowledged head of the community (90 : 37–38).[3]

[1] Hence Charles puts this section in 166–161, the period of Judas. But this is quite certainly too early.

[2] This period of the sword, often referred to in chs. 94–104, stands between two divine judgments, and answers in general to the millennial period in Rev. 20 : 4–6.

[3] The secondary place here given to Messiah perhaps confirms the possi-

7. *The Apocalypse of Ten Weeks* (93, 91 : 12–17)

A millennarian eschatology

This little apocalypse of world history is especially important because it is the earliest that clearly follows the millennarian scheme. It is independent of the section in which it occurs, and we cannot determine its date.[1] The first week closes with Enoch, the second with Noah, the third with Abraham, the fourth with Moses, the fifth with Solomon's temple, the sixth with the Exile, the seventh contains the evil post-exilic period, closing with the rise of the party or circle of the righteous and wise, to whom the writer belongs,[2] those whose wisdom the apocalypses contain.[3]

The course of history

Outline of the future

The following weeks are future. The eighth is the period of the sword, when present conditions will be reversed, and the righteous will slay the wicked. At its close the Messianic age will begin and the new Jerusalem will be built. The ninth week is an epoch of missionary preaching, when the coming judgment will be declared to the world, and all men will be converted to righteousness.

bility that the writer expected two Messiahs, and that the warrior who belongs to this world age and whose coming is at hand is to him the more interesting figure.

[1] Beer makes it one of the oldest parts of the book, pre-Maccabean. But it is probably much later.

[2] Corresponding to 90 : 6.

[3] A summary of this seven-fold wisdom follows (93 : 11–14), which in spite of critical objections may belong to this little apocalypse.

The tenth week ends in the final judgment which is apparently only over angels. A new heaven seven times brighter than the old will appear, and there will follow numberless periods of righteousness.

8. *The Book of Woes and Consolations* (91 : 1–11 ; 92 ; 94–104 [or 105])

This is one of the most important sections in the book. It is not distinctively apocalyptical in form, but is admonitory. Its hopes and faiths are, however, those fundamental to this literature. The situation and the mood are of the apocalyptical type. This book comes out of a definite situation, and it can be more securely dated than any other part of Enoch. It is clearly a Pharisaic writing against the Sadducees, at a time when the latter are in power and the former despised and persecuted. This points to the latter part of the reign of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B. C.), or to that of Alexander Jannæus (103–76 B. C.). The date is probably before the turn in the fortunes of the Pharisees under Alexandra (76–67 B. C.), and certainly before the fall of the Maccabean house at the hand of Rome, in 63 B. C. There are verses that look as if the conflict of the two parties had been raging long (*e.g.*, 103 : 9–15). Such bloody persecution of the Pharisees as the book describes belongs rather to the second than to the first of the two reigns given above.

This comes nearer to being, like Daniel and Revelation,

a book for martyrs than any other part of Enoch ; but here the persecutors are not foreign powers, but the Jewish rulers. The character of Pharisaism in this period of its weakness and struggle, and that of the Sadducees as Pharisees judged them, may be vividly realized by reading this section. A brief summary follows.

Apostates will be judged, and the righteous rewarded

Enoch foretells the apostasy of many Jews and the oppression of the righteous, but assures his sons of the judgment of God upon the sinners, and of the resurrection and eternal life of the righteous (91 : 1–10 ; 92). He, therefore, admonishes them to hold fast to righteousness, and to resist the temptation to acquire wealth and power by violence and deceit. He utters solemn woes against the rich who trust in riches and forget God (94). Their success and prosperity are indeed a hard problem, but their sins will surely bring destruction upon them, and the righteous will one day have power and take their revenge (95–96). Only faith is necessary. The prayer of the righteous will reach the Lord and his judgment will be its answer. The evil deeds of the wicked are known in heaven and no escape is possible. The riches which they have heaped up and on which they rely will vanish and will be unavailing (97). They are living lives of effeminate luxury and of boundless extravagance. Their sin is wholly their own, and they cannot excuse themselves by arguing its necessity. All their sins are recorded, and they cannot comfort themselves by affirming that God keeps no reckoning. The

Woes against the rich and powerful and unbelieving

day of judgment will be for them a day of death, not of life, at the hand of God and of the righteous whom they now oppress (98). They write books to justify their violations of law and right.[1] There are coming days of warfare and of extreme want, of bloodshed and of gross idolatry and superstition with its fruits of ignorance and fear. When such days come blessed are those who hold to the wisdom and righteousness of God. Those on the other hand who make gains by deception and by oppression, who violate the law and traditions of Israel and are inclined to idolatry will be destroyed (99). Brothers will slay brothers and fathers sons, and unheard-of violence will prevail. But judgment will come upon the angels who introduced sin, and upon sinners. The righteous will be guarded from this divine judgment, and even if they die they need have no fear. Those who see the truth of the teachings of this book will know that riches cannot save them from punishment. The righteous may suffer martyrdom even by fire, but fire shall hereafter burn their persecutors. Nature itself shall testify against them, and shall disclose God's judgment against them (100).

The coming distress

The intervention of judgment and its just and inevitable rewards

The sight of nature's mighty powers, and of their obedience to the command of him who made them, ought itself to bring sinners to fear him (101). They will indeed fear him when he comes in judgment, but it will then be too late to escape his wrath. The righteous may die in trouble,

[1] This Sadducean literature has not survived.

Over against the scepticism of the wicked is the certain hope of the righteous for immortality

so that sinners declare that death is alike for all, and that righteousness has no advantage (102). But the seer swears that he knows and has seen in the heavenly books that the spirits of the righteous have a joy and glory far beyond that of the living, and an immortal life in God's presence. On the other hand sinners who die after a long life of prosperity and honor will have tribulation in Hades. Their spirits will enter a fiery prison-house.

The present hardship of the righteous is great

The complaint of the righteous is indeed a grievous one. They suffer every evil, and are in daily peril of their lives at the hands of their enemies. They hoped as of right to be first in the community, but are last. They have labored hard for influence, but have not gained it. They are subjected to the dominion of those that hate and oppress them. There has been no chance or place for escape. They have appealed to their rulers for redress, but the rulers have given support to those who oppressed them (103).[1] All this is true but it is not the whole truth. It is true on earth, but in heaven angels intercede for the righteous and their names are before God. Soon they will be glorious as the stars, and like them will have access to heaven. Their joy will be like that of angels. There they will dwell far removed from the dreadful judgment that is to visit the earth. Let not the righteous, then, destined to be companions of the heavenly hosts, be tempted by the pros-

but it will soon come to an end

[1] The Maccabean kings naturally sided with the Sadducees, since they formed essentially the party of the ruling house.

perity of sinners to associate with them and imitate them. They do indeed say that their sins are not recorded, and they alter [Enoch?] books and write books of their own to prove heathenish lies.[1] But when as here the Enoch writings are faithfully transmitted and translated [into Aramaic and Greek?] they will be to the righteous a source of wisdom and joy.

The hope of immortality must not yield to doubts

The concluding reference to the duty of those who possess these books to guide and admonish men, and the promise of the presence of God and his Son, Messiah, with men in the coming age of peace, is regarded by some as a later addition (ch. 105).

9. *Concluding Sections* (106–108)

Chapter 106–107 is part of the Noah-apocalyptical traditions, namely an account of the marvellous birth of Noah, who appears more like an angel than like a man. Enoch, who is still living, interprets the sign to the perplexed father and grandfather of the child. Noah is thus marked as destined to be the survivor when the earth is destroyed.

The marvellous birth of Noah (106–107)

Chapter 108 is more nearly in line with 94–104, but carries further the ascetic contempt of this life which could

[1] We learn from the New Testament and Josephus that the Sadducees denied the existence of angels and spirits, and a life of rewards and punishments after death. The tone of the affirmations of this book on these subjects shows how hot the debate was in regard to the reality of the spirit world and of the life to come. The discussion was evidently carried on in books on both sides.

Asceticism and its reward (108)

easily result from the extreme other worldliness of that section. Here the spirits of the humble, who afflict their bodies, are especially recompensed by God. They loved God and did not love earthly goods. They gave their bodies to torture, despising them and the food that sustained them, and by such asceticism purified their spirits; and having proved that they loved heaven more than earth, and having had shame and abuse on earth, they will be enthroned in heavenly glory.[1]

10. *The Similitudes of Enoch* (37–71)

Importance of this section

This is to us the most important part of the Book of Enoch, because of its picture of the pre-existent heavenly Messiah, who is destined to come as judge of men and angels. Of all the Jewish apocalypses this would seem to offer by far the most help in the effort to understand the Messianic consciousness of Jesus, or at least the earliest interpretation of his office and nature. Yet this section offers great difficulties to the historian.

Against foreign foes

It is entirely distinct in character from the rest of the book. It appears to come from a different situation, one in which the enemies of God and his people are not Jewish apostates but foreign kings and rulers. In this important respect it is like Daniel and Revelation. It is significant,

[1] This ascetic piece is regarded as Essenic by many, and evidently does contain Essenic elements. The dualistic contrast of body and spirit is not native to the Jews but is probably of Greek origin.

therefore, that the writer returned more directly to Daniel than the other Enoch writers did. The most distinctive part of his work consists in an elaboration of Daniel 7.

Uncertain date

The book is not dated by any clear reference to a historical event, but on the whole the latter part of the reign of Herod the Great seems to be the most probable time of its origin. "The mighty kings and high ones who possess the earth" would then be Augustus and Herod and other vassal kings under Rome. Some think that native Jewish kings, the late Maccabean rulers, are meant, but the phrase cited would not fit them, and the description of their arrogant denial of God and their impious and unjust deeds is like the condemnation of the heathen king Antiochus in Daniel.[1] One sentence which seems to imply native rulers (46 : 8) is justified by Herod's pretensions to Judaism.[2]

It is true that this date is no more than probable. We should expect definite references to Herod or to Rome, which we do not find. But for some reason, whatever his situation, the writer chose to make his references to the enemies of the righteous community vague and general, and it is especially easy to conceive of reasons for this reserve in the reign of the suspicious and despotic Herod.

We may assume then that this writing comes from a

[1] Compare En. 46: 5–7 with Dan. 4: 17–25, 30–32; 5: 18–21; 8 : 10–11.

[2] It seems, however, that the verse means that the kings *persecute* the Jewish synagogues, not that they will themselves be expelled from them (Fleming).

General situation

time when the Sadducees were no longer in power, when the whole people were again feeling the oppression of the heathen, and hoping for a Messiah whose judgment would be more universal than the Roman empire itself, and his reign one whose glory would put to shame the kings who possess the earth.

The book imperfectly preserved

The Similitudes have not been perfectly preserved in our book. There are several obvious interpolations from the Noah circle of tradition (39 : 1, 2^a; 54 : 7–55 : 2; 60; 65–69 : 25), and there are evidences that parts of the original have been lost. There is a peculiar addition (ch. 71), which identifies the Messianic "Son of Man" with Enoch himself. This serves at least to prove the thoroughly Jewish character of the whole book. Even the interpolations are not Christian.

(1) *The First Similitude* (37–44)

The three so-called Similitudes all treat the Messianic time though from somewhat different points of view. The first deals chiefly with the future dwelling-places of the righteous which are now in heaven, but are destined for those who now believe in their existence, hidden though they are, those who believe in the world of spirits and in God the "Lord of spirits." Sinners are those who deny the spiritual world, and when the heavenly places are manifested at the day of judgment, they will be excluded from them and will have no abiding-place.

Enoch is translated into heaven and here he sees these future dwelling-places of the righteous. They are now occupied by angels, who intercede for men, and by the Messiah; and these with God himself will hereafter be the companions of holy men.[1] It is a place not of dreadful fire and dazzling splendor (ch. 14), but of righteousness and peace, where one would long to abide.[2] Enoch sees the innumerable hosts of spirits who inhabit this place, the four presences that are nearest to God, and other secrets of heaven and of the divine rule over men and in nature. Among the inhabitants of heaven he sees also the divine Wisdom, which found no dwelling-place on earth and returned to her place with the angels,[3] while unrighteousness came to live among men.

Vision of the future dwelling-places of the righteous.

(2) *The Second Similitude* (45–57)

The second Similitude is announced (45 : 1) as "concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy ones and the Lord of spirits," and the third (58 : 1) as "concerning the righteous and elect." These titles do

[1] The present place of the righteous dead is not heaven, but the Garden of Eden in the northwest (61 : 12 ; 70 : 3–4).

[2] It is not clear whether the righteous are to ascend to heaven, or the places to descend to earth. The latter seems to be affirmed in 45 : 4–5 ; 51 : 5, but see 39 : 6–7 ; 45 : 2, 6 ; 51 : 4 ; 62 : 14–16 (?).

[3] Compare the deviating idea of Ecclesiasticus 24 : 1–23 and Baruch 3 : 9–4 : 4, according to which Wisdom found her place in Israel and is identical with the Law.

not well describe the contents of what follows. The principal subject of the second Similitude is the Messiah, the destined judge.

The pre-existent heavenly Messiah and his coming as judge

In accordance with Daniel 7, Enoch sees God, the Ancient of Days, and with him one like a man.[1] Asking who "that man" is, he is told that it is the man of supreme righteousness and wisdom, whom God has chosen to overthrow the kings of the earth for their ungodly claims, their injustice, idolatry, denial of God and persecution of the Jews (ch. 46). The seer then has a vision of that coming judgment. Its first stage is purely heavenly (ch. 47). In answer to the prayers of the righteous, God takes his seat on the throne of judgment surrounded by the angelic hosts, and the books are opened before him. Then "that man" is summoned before God to receive his commission as the executor of judgment. This was not the beginning of his existence, for he was created before the sun and stars. He is destined to be the support of the righteous, the light of the heathen, the hope of the distressed, and at last the adored of all.[2] But even now he is the saviour of those to whom God has revealed him, who because of their faith in him have hated this unrighteous world.[3]

[1] The phrase "son of man," which in Hebrew means simply "a man," is certainly not a title in Dan. 7:13, and apparently not yet in Enoch. It is "that man," that is the man of Daniel's vision, who is here described.

[2] Cf. Isa. 42:6; 49:6; 51:4; 45:23; Phil. 2:10.

[3] Notice the saving power of the prophet's faith in a coming divine deliverer. Faith in him already enables men to overcome the world.

With the approach of judgment terror seizes the kings of the earth. Destruction will come upon them because of their denial of God and Messiah (48). The fitness of this heavenly Messiah for his task is due to his abundant endowment with the divine spirit of wisdom, so that he knows the secrets of every heart (49). There still remains for sinners a last chance for repentance at sight of the glory now resting upon the holy (50). Then follows the resurrection of the dead, and the redemption of the righteous, who will become [like?] angels in heaven and will dwell with the Messiah on the redeemed earth (51). The Messiah's judgment

Enoch then sees evidences of the power of the Messiah and the inevitableness of his judgments upon the wicked. Neither can wealth bribe nor war resist him (52). The gifts of the wicked will not avail. Their punishment is sure, and with their end peace for the congregation of the righteous (53). The valley of fire prepared for Azazel and his hosts will be the final place of the kings, Satan's subjects, who have misled men (54). Both angels and men are to be judged by the Messiah (55). After a vision of the angels of punishment follows a description of the last assault of Eastern kings, incited thereto by angels, against Jerusalem.[1] There they will turn against one another and be destroyed (56). Then comes another mighty army from east and west and south, whose noise will be heard in Its inevitableness and finality

[1] Charles's reasons for making 56:5–57:3 a later insertion are not convincing. It is a fixed part of apocalyptical tradition based on Ezek. 38, 39.

heaven and will shake the earth, an army of those who will worship God at Jerusalem.[1]

(3) *The Third Similitude* (58–69)

The reward of the righteous

The third Similitude "concerning the righteous and the elect" is marred by long interpolations, and the original form can hardly be regained. The righteous will have eternal life and will ever seek and increasingly find light and righteousness, as they search in heaven for the secrets now accessible there and the treasure faith is now heir to (58). A vision assures the seer of the universality of the resurrection of the righteous dead (61 : 1–5). He then sees the Messiah seated on God's throne, judging even the holy angels—so exalted is his authority—and all the angels of heaven and the Messiah himself join in blessing and glorifying God (61 : 6–13). Then follows the judgment over men on earth. Again God seats the Messiah on his own throne, and by his judicial sentence he slays all sinners.[2] Terror shall seize the kings and mighty of earth as they see "that man" sitting on the throne of his glory. Then too late they will acknowledge him, who was hidden, and was revealed only to the elect, and will pray for mercy. But they will be thrust from his presence in shame, and he will give them to the punishing angels because of their

Messiah as judge, dealing with the righteous and the sinful

[1] Perhaps heathen converts rather than the Jews of the dispersion, according to Isa. 2 : 2–4 ; Zech. 8 : 20–23.

[2] As in Rev. 19 : 15, 21.

persecution of the righteous, and they will be destroyed in the sight of those whom they oppressed. But the righteous will dwell forever under the favoring care of God and in the companionship of "that man," clothed with garments of glory and life (62).

Then the mighty ones from their place of punishment will glorify the Lord of spirits and confess their sin in not believing in him, but trusting instead in their own power and riches (63). In the same place will be the sinning angels of Genesis 6 (64).

The blessed consummation

The third Similitude ends as it began with a description of the blessed consummation, of which the central good is the revelation of "that son of man," his judgment removing all evil from the earth, and his glory as he reigns over an incorruptible world, possessing the full favor of God (hence an efficient mediator between men and God). After these visions Enoch is translated to the Messiah and the Lord of spirits, and his dwelling-place is Paradise, in the far northwest, where the fathers and all the righteous dwell (69 : 25–70).

A supplementary chapter (71)

A later writer takes this occasion to describe the heaven into which Enoch was translated, borrowing his description largely from chapter 14, whereas the writer of the Similitudes appears to make no use of other parts of the book. The interpolator adds the remarkable identification of " that son of man " with Enoch himself, making him the supreme embodiment of righteousness, the imitation

of him the law, and eternal life with him the hope of man (71).[1]

11. *Significance of the Messianic Hope in the Similitudes*

Religion as faith in the unseen world

The Messianic theology of this book is so important in its bearing on the beginnings of Christianity that we may well attempt to summarize and estimate it. There are, according to this writer, dwelling-places in heaven prepared for the chosen and just. These places are, it would seem, to be brought to earth, or earth transformed into their likeness, in the coming age. There dwell at present not only angel spirits, but also one like man and like angel as well, the Elect one of God, the Messiah, who is destined to sit on God's throne as judge, to destroy those who now rule the earth, and to reward the righteous. Faith in the reality of these heavenly places and rewards and of this Messiah, though they are hidden, is the essence of piety. By this faith the just are sustained in their struggle with the world, and given strength to resist and despise its wealth and pride. The sin of the rulers of the world is unbelief and arrogance. They deny the spirit world, angels, the books of reckoning, the Messiah and God himself. The Messiah was created before heaven and earth.

[1] All the Enoch books exalt Enoch as the great revealer of God and of heavenly and future things to men. They represent a sort of Enoch religion, an idealization and partial deification of the one who walked with God and was not, for God took him.

He is more than man in nature, and is put above all angels in authority; yet he seems to represent what man should be, and he will be the head of the new community of the righteous, whose blessedness consists in association with him. Even now he is the salvation of those who know the secret of his being and believe in him. What a transformation, and yet not an unnatural one, the symbolic figure of the one like a man in Daniel 7:13 has here undergone! The heavenly Messiah

We must believe then that the idea of the Messiah as pre-existent and as destined to sit on the throne of God as the final judge of angels and men was not a Christian creation, but was held at some time by some Jews. It was one of the forms of the Jewish Messianic hope. There were others wholly different from this. The primitive conception of the Messiah as another David, a great warrior and king, wholly man, and his task chiefly political, was still current and popular in the time of Christ. The religious and ethical sides of his activity, his work in making the Jewish people pure and righteous, could be emphasized, as in the 17th Psalm of Solomon, without altering his character as a purely human, national king. But the Jews whom the Similitudes of Enoch represent had made of Messiah a heavenly being, and regarded his office as chiefly that of judge of the world. A Jewish higher Christology

The millennarian eschatology which we found in the Apocalypse of Ten Weeks is a different attempt to meet

Peculiarity of this eschatology

the same need, that of making the consummation of more than earthly glory. There the Messianic earthly consummation comes first, and the heavenly and eternal follows after it. In the Similitudes the heavenly precedes, being already a reality, and the one crisis and one consummation consists in the breaking in of the heavenly upon the earthly, and the transformation of earth and man after heavenly and angelic patterns. In the millennarian scheme the Messiah would naturally introduce and rule over the earthly kingdom, and God himself would be the final judge. So it is in Second Esdras 7. In the Christian Revelation the Messiah is central both in the thousand years' reign and in the heavenly consummation. Nothing short of this would express the place of Christ in Christian faith. It is a surprising and unique feature of the Similitudes among Jewish writings that they make the Messiah the final judge, even of angels. It is due to the fact that the heavenly consummation does not here follow after the earthly, but displaces it, or includes and interprets it. The Messianic hope is lifted up and given a transcendent nature, and with it the Messiah is exalted and becomes a heavenly and semi-divine being.

Yet this heavenly Messiah is not Christian

It would be a great mistake to exaggerate the likeness between the Messiah of the Similitudes and the Christ of the New Testament. The ideas of pre-existence and judgeship are important in early Christology, but are not of central significance in the problem of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus. Far more important is such a

sentence as this: "I came not to call the righteous but sinners." The Messiah of the Similitudes comes not to make sinful Israel righteous, but to make righteous Israel triumphant, to vindicate the righteous by the destruction of their enemies.

III

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

The book

This apocalypse exists only in one Latin manuscript. It is perhaps a fragment, though it seems quite complete in its plan. The date is not long after the death of Herod, probably before 10 A. D. It consists in the last charges and revelations of Moses to Joshua, and contains a brief history of Israel from Moses to the Messianic age, told in literal, not in figurative, speech. The most striking point in this history is the unsparing condemnation of the priesthood before, during and after the Maccabean age, and a depreciation of the temple services because of the unworthy character of those who officiate. The impelling purpose of the book is to be found in this denunciation and in urging a patient and courageous protest against the ruling party. Apparently the writer expects a new persecution by a second Antiochus Epiphanes. Those who patiently endure it in fidelity to the law will be rewarded at the coming of God's kingdom by elevation to heaven, from which they will look down upon the destruction of their enemies by

Its polemic against the priests

Persecution and the reward of martyr-like fidelity

the avenging wrath of God.[1] The earth itself is apparently destroyed and the consummation is purely heavenly. The ideal righteous man is one who retires from the world in order fully to keep the law of God, sacrificing life if need be, in the sure hope of vindication and glory at the coming of God (ch. 9).

The deification of Moses

Another noteworthy feature of the book is the semi-divine character given to Moses. God prepared him before the foundation of the world to be the mediator of his covenant (1 : 14). He feeds, pities, guides the people. His intercession secures their blessings (11 : 9–17 ; 12 : 6). None would dare touch his dead body, and only the whole world could be his grave. Joshua must be reassured in view of the irreparable loss which his death will entail by Moses's strong assertion that Israel's salvation does not depend on him, but on the eternal and irrevocable purpose of God. This exaltation of Moses is connected with the exaltation of the Law.

The party to which the book belongs

The book represents, perhaps, as Mr. Charles puts it, "a Pharisee of a fast-disappearing type, recalling in all respects the Chasid of the early Maccabean times, and upholding the old traditions of quietude and resignation." Or it may be more correct, with Baldensperger, to call him a Messianic Pietist, and to regard him as a critic of Pharisa-

[1] But some think this (ch. 10: 8 ff.) a picture of the elevation of Israel to rulership over the earth, though the starry heaven is not mere figure. The scene of the new era is elevated above earth.

ism as well as of Sadduceeism (see ch. 7), one whose devotion to the law is not a cloak to cover unrighteousness. Baldensperger agrees that he is a successor of the Chasidim. Perhaps a Pharisee would not make a Levite his representative pious man.

Compared with the Book of Jubilees

It is interesting to contrast this type of piety with that found in the Book of Jubilees.[1] There the realization of the hope depends on Israel's observance of the law. The emphasis is on man's freedom rather than on God's covenant and oath, and on God's justice and recompense according to desert rather than his unmerited grace (Ass. Mos. 12 : 7 ff.). The distinction consists in a difference of emphasis on two sides of the Jewish religion, and it is connected with differences of circumstance as well as of temperament. The Book of Jubilees was written when the religious party was prosperous, the Assumption of Moses when it was oppressed and in danger; so the one thinks that the consummation will come with a further dominance of legal piety,[2] the other expects it only by a purely miraculous intervention of God. One expects a transformation of the earth and a dwelling of God among men ;[3] the other

[1] Not an apocalypse but containing some apocalyptical features. See Charles's *Book of Jubilees*, 1904 ; but his date (a few years after 135 B. C.) is probably too early. A midrash or free paraphrase and commentary on Genesis and part of Exodus, up to the founding of Passover.

[2] See Book of Jubilees, 1:15–18 ; 23:26–31.

[3] Jubilees 1:17 ; yet after this (?), according to one passage, comes a spiritual immortality, 23:30.

requires nothing less than the destruction of the earth, and the dwelling of the righteous with God in heaven.

The rabbis in a much later time continued to discuss the question whether the coming of the Messianic time depended on Israel's repentance and righteousness, or on a predestined course of world history in which its place was unchangeably fixed. Circumstance and temperament determine the attitude of men on this perennial problem.

IV

THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

The book and its date

This is a recent addition to our knowledge of the Enoch literature. It was originally written, certainly in the main, in Greek, and it has survived only in Slavonic. It makes some use of the older (Ethiopic) Enoch book, but is largely independent of it and different from it in character. It is on the whole an unmistakably Jewish book, though there are some strange things in it that suggest foreign influence, and on the other hand the ethical teachings are in part so Christian that some have supposed a few Christian interpolations. The references to sacrifices seem to imply that the temple was still standing. This is almost the only indication of date.

The first part of the book describes Enoch's journey up through the seven heavens, with an account of what he saw

in each. Having reached the very presence of God he is instructed by him regarding mysteries which not even the angels know. He is told the way in which God created the world, the visible out of the invisible, and man, in whom visible and invisible are united. The fall of Adam is shaped in such a way as to guard both his pre-eminence among men, and the absolute goodness of all the world as God made it. The blame is put in part upon Eve, in part on Satan, who fell from heaven because of his ambition to equal God, in part on Adam's ignorance of his nature. Visions of the heavens and of the origin of evil

After a month's stay in heaven, during which he writes 366 books of his revelations, Enoch returns to earth for a month to instruct and admonish his children. The last part of the book contains his admonitions, consisting of some fine ethical teachings, in which emphasis is laid on justice and a charity that is disinterested and rests on love, patient forbearance and endurance, and sincerity in all one's service of God, who knows the heart. These duties are enforced by the expectation of a coming judgment which will introduce the world to come. The reward of following the maxims of the book is a blessed immortality, the consummation being conceived of in individual more than in national form. In the world to come there are many mansions prepared for men: good for the good, and evil for the evil. Emphasis is put on monotheism and divine determination. The number and place of all Admonitions

souls are fixed. Yet freedom and responsibility are insisted upon.

V

THE APOCALYPSE OF EZRA

1. *Historical Situation and Relation to the Apocalypse of Baruch*

The question of relative age

Two closely related apocalypses, that of Ezra (2 Esd. 3–14) and that of Baruch, were called forth by the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D., and by the condition in which Judaism was left by that dreadful calamity. It is very uncertain what their relation to each other is, which is earlier, and so which is dependent on the other. Some think that the writer of the Apocalypse of Baruch has a more vivid impression of the fall of the city, others that the writer of the Apocalypse of Ezra reveals a deeper emotion, a more natural order and progress, and a greater originality. The historical Baruch was an actual witness of the first destruction of Jerusalem, as Ezra was not, and Second Esdras 3 : 1 suggests that some time had intervened. On the other hand, Ezra was a greater name than Baruch and would naturally be chosen first after Enoch, Moses, and Daniel, by an apocalyptical writer. There is also a great difference of judgment among students as to the question of the unity of these books. Our

English editor of the Apocalypse of Baruch, Professor Charles, accepts an elaborate analysis of both apocalypses, while the most recent and able German writer on the Apocalypse of Ezra, Professor Gunkel, maintains that it is a unity, though its author, like other writers of this sort of literature, made use of various written or oral traditions.[1] The question of composition

The Apocalypse of Ezra is on a higher plane of religious feeling and reflection than the other, and was far more highly valued by the Christian church. It has survived in five ancient versions, Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic and Armenian, while the Apocalypse of Baruch exists only in one Syriac manuscript, first published in 1866. Relative value to Christians

In these two apocalypses the eschatological conceptions of Judaism are most fully elaborated; so that Schürer, in his *History*, follows a scheme that is derived from these two books when he would give a systematic summary of the Jewish Messianic hope. This is his scheme: (1) The last oppression and confusion. (2) Elijah as forerunner. (3) The appearance of Messiah. (4) Last attack of hostile powers. (5) Their destruction. (6) Renewal of Jerusalem. (7) Gathering of the Dispersion. (8) Kingdom of glory in Palestine. (9) Renewal of the world. (10) General resurrection. (11) Last judgment. Eternal blessedness and condemnation. The eschatology of these apocalypses

We are not, however, to suppose that these apocalypses

[1] Gunkel's edition is in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 1900.

follow this scheme in a clear and consistent way. On the contrary each of them contains a variety of eschatological material, derived certainly in large part from various traditional sources, and not worked together into a consistent and orderly whole. It is because of such diversities that some regard these books as composite, but it is probably better to say that they have each a proper author and a real unity, but that the authors, like others of their class, are very dependent on traditions, and are not anxious, perhaps are not able, to harmonize them.

Three forms of the eschatological hope and their relations to one another

There are three consummations with which Jewish eschatology concerned itself: (1) The old prophetic and always popular hope of a national restoration, a coming kingship and glory of Israel. It is here that Messiah, the king, originally belonged. (2) A new world age to displace this corrupt world. An æon heavenly in its source and character, introduced by a world catastrophe, and even by a new divine creation. (3) Rewards and punishments of individual souls after death, according to their deserts, in unearthly places prepared for such purposes. Now the tendency in Judaism was to pass from the first of these hoped-for ends to the second, and from the second to the third. The eschatology of the older prophets was occupied chiefly with the first. The eschatology of the Jewish rabbis as the Talmud records it is principally concerned with the third. It is characteristic of the apocalypses that they make the second central. Someone calls

Second Esdras 7 : 50, "The Most High hath not made one world but two," the key to the apocalypses. Another quotes as their text, Barnabas 6 : 13, "Behold I make the last things as the first"—a new creation, like the first, begins the new world. This does not mean, however, that in the apocalypses the hope of a new world displaced the hope of a royal Israel. It either interpreted the older hope, giving it an unearthly elevation, or it followed it in time, of course so surpassing it in glory as to put it into the background. As a matter of fact, from Daniel itself on, the apocalypses deal with all three of the ends just described, and it is only by differences in emphasis and relationship that they are distinguished from each other.

If, now, we compare Daniel and Second Esdras we are struck especially with the fact that though Israel's disastrous collision with Rome is the occasion of the later book, yet the national, political element is far more in the background than in Daniel. The contrast of the two world-ages is much more important than the contrast of Israel and Rome. It is evident also that interest in the fortunes of souls in the realm of the dead is far more developed in the later than in the earlier book.

2. *Problems of the Book*

Place of the book in our Apocrypha

On account of the fact that this book was in the old Latin Bible, and was appended to the Vulgate, though it does not belong to the Catholic canon proper, we fortu-

nately have it in our English Apocrypha. It should be read in the Revised Version, which contains a fragment of seventy verses missing from the common Latin texts, after 7 : 35, though found in the Oriental Versions, and recently recovered in Latin. Our Second Esdras 1–2 and 15–16 do not belong to the Jewish apocalypse and are not found in the other versions. They are Christian books in imitation of the Jewish, and are often called Fifth Ezra (1 Esd. 1–2) and Sixth Ezra (2 Esd. 15–16), while the Jewish book, Second Esdras 3–14, is commonly cited as Fourth Ezra.

Its date

According to the historical vision in chapters 11–12, the book appears to have been written before the end of Domitian's reign (81–96 A. D.), and with this the other indications of date in the book agree.

General contents of the book

We may approach the study of the book in the light of a few sentences from Gunkel. "The author wished to present two kinds of material: 1. Properly apocalyptical and especially eschatological mysteries; this material is to be compared with Daniel 7 ff. or Revelation 4 ff. 2. Religious problems and speculations which relate to eschatology and find in it either their answer or their occasion; this material is comparable with the speculations of the Pauline letters. The author put these problems in general before the mysteries, as being of greater importance, an order which can be compared with that of Revelation."

Two great problems concern this writer, and he grapples with them, with the means at his command, in an earnest

and worthy way, with deep feeling and serious reflection. One is the problem of Israel, whose temple and city have fallen before the Romans. How are God's choice of Israel and his promises to be made good? The answer should be the Messianic hope, and in fact the book predicts the overthrow of Rome, and the coming of Israel's king and kingdom. The other problem is that of sin and evil in general, the universality of sin and the dominance of evil. The solution is the hope of a new world in which the source of sin in the heart of man will be removed, and all the roots of evil in this world will be cut out.

Two chief problems

In one place the millennarian scheme of adjusting these two hopes is adopted, except that the Messianic age measures only four hundred years instead of one thousand. This period of Israel's vindication against Rome still belongs to the present world age. At the end of it the Messiah, though he pre-existed before his manifestation, nevertheless dies with all other men, as if to emphasize the fact that what then follows, the new creation, wholly supersedes the national hope.

Place of the national hope

But our author is not satisfied with this eschatology on a large scale. It is well that the present world with its irremediable corruption and evil be destroyed and the new world take its place, but what of the multitudes to whom the judgment that must introduce the new world can only bring death? "The world to come shall bring delight to few, but torment to many" (7 : 47). The answer to this

The problem of individual sin and suffering

new difficulty leads the writer much further into speculations about the destiny of souls after death than earlier apocalypses had gone, and we find ourselves well started in the movement which, re-enforced by Greek influence, became dominant both in later Jewish and in Christian eschatology.

Value of the book

A brief summary of the book will suggest some of the far-reaching thoughts which moved this man. His book records an inward struggle, as real as that of the writer of Job, in which an earnest religious thinker seeks to maintain his faith in monotheism and in salvation through the law over against opposing facts, against the ill fortune of Israel in the loss of its temple and nationality, against the power of evil in this world in general, and against the inability of the law to produce righteousness in man, because of his evil heart. In the world-wide range of the writer's views, in his concern for sinful men and their fate, and in his almost Pauline experience of the inadequacy of the law as a means of salvation, the writer helps us to understand the kind of Judaism that was ready for Christianity. The fall of Jerusalem (70 A. D.) must have helped to detach many Jews of this type from the national and legalistic side of the Jewish religion, though, on the other hand, it occasioned a reaction of the majority into a more one-sided type of legalism, in which the eschatological motive was reduced to the hope by the study and keeping of the law to have part in the world to come.

3. *The First Vision: Sources and End of Evil*

The first vision (3 : 1–5 : 19)

In the person of Ezra mourning over the desolation of Zion and the wealth of Babylon, the writer expresses his grief and despair at Jerusalem's fall at the hands of Rome. He utters his protests to God by appealing, on the one hand, to the universality of human sinfulness and, on the other, to God's choice of Israel. Sin goes back to Adam, who was altogether as God made him, yet he sinned because he had an evil heart; and for the same reason all men have sinned. The law which God gave to Israel could not make this people righteous so long as he did not remove from them the evil heart. Hence he should not expect perfect righteousness of them. On the other hand no nation has shown more faith and righteousness than Israel, and yet nations far more wicked prosper, while Israel suffers (ch. 3). The most serious point in this argument is the implied charge that the evil heart is man's by nature, that God is responsible for it, and hence cannot punish men for sin. Who planted this evil seed in human nature if not God? The angel Uriel replies first to this charge much as Jehovah replies to Job. You cannot understand the simplest things about you, he says, still less things remote; how then can you understand why the heart of man is wicked? Man's worn-out nature in this corruptible world cannot grasp such mysteries (4 : 1–11). Ezra protests that it were better not to live than to suffer and not know why (4 : 12).

The angel replies that it is vain for anything to seek to go beyond the bounds of its own nature. Man can know what is on earth. Only God knows what is in heaven (4 : 13–21). Ezra answers that it was indeed a thing on earth that he wished to know, namely, why Israel had fallen before an ungodly nation (4 : 22–25). The answer is, that though this seems to be a thing of earth it is involved in something transcendent. This present world is altogether evil, but this is in accordance with the plan of God, and it is not his purpose to remedy this world, but to remove it and put another in its place. It is necessary rather that evil increase in order that the present world may reach its end. The evil sown in it must grow to maturity, and only then can it be harvested (4 : 26–32). The seer replies : If then the solution of the problem lies in the future, not in the past, how soon will it come? The answer is, It cannot be hastened, for everything is determined and the number and measure of all things must be according to the divine decree (4 : 33–37). Is not the delay, then, on account of men's sins? No, the resurrection, the birth of souls out of the womb of the grave, cannot come before the time is fulfilled (4 : 40–43). Is this age, then, at least half gone? Yes, so much the angel can affirm, what remains is far less than what is past (4 : 44–50) ; but he cannot tell whether the end will come within the seer's lifetime. He can only tell the signs of its approach, a still greater increase in faithlessness and wickedness, the desolation of Rome, portents

in the heavens, perversities in nature and degeneration in human life (4 : 51–5 : 13).

4. *The Second Vision: Further Questions and Answers as to Evil and its End*

The second vision (5 : 20–6 : 34)

After seven days Ezra again makes complaint to God. Why, if he has chosen Israel and favored it above all nations, does he allow it to be oppressed and dishonored by the heathen? (5 : 20–30). The angel answers as before that man is without understanding or power in the smallest and nearest things, and cannot know the mystery of God's ways, though he may know that God's love to Israel is far greater than his own (5 : 31–40). The seer demands to know at least what the lot of those shall be who have died before the end comes, and is assured that their lot will not be worse than that of those who survive (4 : 41–42). But why could not God have made all men at once and shown his righteous judgment without such delay? Because it would be unseemly haste, and because earth, like a mother, must bear her children in turn (4 : 43–49). But it is evident from the deterioration of the human race that our mother earth is growing old (4 : 50–55). Ezra is then assured that the one whose coming will bring the new world is no other than he who created the present world, God himself (5 : 56–6 : 6).[1] It is then intimated that the rule of

[1] Some find here a polemic against Christianity, but it is not necessary to assume this.

Rome will end the present world, and that of Israel will begin the world to come (6 : 7–10).[1] A mighty voice announces further signs in nature and in human life of the nearness of the end, especially the coming of Elijah and other such men, who did not die, to effect a moral reformation in the world (6 : 11–28).

5. *The Third Vision: The World to Come and the Lot of Souls after Death*

The third vision (6: 35–9: 25)

Ezra reviews, with some legendary additions, the story of the six days of creation in order to bring forth the truth that God made the world for man, and then among men chose Israel as his people. But "if the world be made for our sakes, why do we not possess our world?" (6 : 35–59). The angel's answer concerns the problem of man rather than that of Israel. He likens this world to a narrow and dangerous entrance—made such because of Adam's transgression—through which one must pass if he would enjoy the breadth and security of the world to come. One should endure the present by setting his mind upon the future (7 : 1–16). But, Ezra replies, it is only the righteous who can cherish this hope. True, says the angel, and right, for sinners have violated the express command of God (7 : 17–25). This will be the order of the last things.

[1] 7 : 29–31 differs from this, for it makes the Messianic kingdom belong to this age, not to the age to come. The writer does not care to harmonize varying traditions.

After the signs already described, the new Jerusalem will appear. Messiah will come with the righteous dead and reign 400 years. Then he and all men shall die and the earth shall be silent as before the creation. Then the new incorruptible world shall appear, all the dead shall rise, and judgment shall follow, with eternal rewards in Gehenna and Paradise. This day of judgment, seven years long, is a wholly unearthly day. It is lighted only by the glory of God [1] (7 : 26–44). But the seer returns to his anxious inquiry after those to whom this day of judgment will bring only woe. Have not almost all sinned on account of the evil heart, and will not the age to come bring delight to only a few? The angel does not deny the fact. All precious things are rare, and God will rejoice over the few righteous, as a man over his jewels, and will not grieve over the multitude that perish (7 : 45–61). To this the seer replies again that it would be better not to be, or to be as animals without minds that fear and hope, than to be men inevitably sinful and destined to judgment after death.[2] The angel answers that judgment was in God's plan from creation, and that man's intelligence makes him

[1] Isa. 60 : 19 f.; Rev. 21 : 23.

[2] The tone of the writer changes from impatient haste for the coming of the future world to solve the present evils of life, to fear lest the future will bring to many and even to him not the end of evil but greater evils than are now endured. The sense of the grace of God to his chosen people is balanced by the sense of the righteousness of his judgment according to the law, and the incapacity of man to fulfil the law on account of his evil nature.

rightly responsible, especially since God not only gave him a law, but has put the judgment off so long (7 : 62–74). Ezra then asks whether souls are punished immediately after death or are kept till the day of judgment. The angel first assures him that he is not to number himself with the sinners, and then discloses the experiences of souls in the intermediate state immediately after death, the seven torments of soul which the wicked will suffer, and the seven joys that shall fill the minds of the righteous. They have seven days of freedom in which to see the places destined for them, and then wait in their chambers (7 : 75–101). Ezra's anxiety for sinners leads him to ask whether the righteous can intercede for the unrighteous in the day of judgment, fathers for children, or friends for friends. The answer is, No; each one must then stand alone; and in answer to the appeal to historical examples of the efficacy of such intercession the angel reiterates that this belongs to the present world, but not to that in which sin is to have no place (7 : 102–115). The hopeless finality of the issues of that day weighs the seer down. He thinks it better that man should not have been made, or that Adam should not have been permitted to sin and bring such evil upon the race. The promise of eternal life is unavailing because man cannot deserve it. So the hope of the world to come, which was to solve the problem of evil, only increases its darkness and oppression (7 : 116–126). The answer of legalism that the transgressors of the law only receive their

deserts as the law prescribes (7 : 127–131) does not satisfy his heart. For God is now not only just but merciful. Compassion as well as righteousness enters into the Old Testament revelation of his character, and the very continuance of the world and of man is proof of it (7 : 132–140).[1]

When the angel repeats the principle, many for this world, few for the world to come, many created, few saved, Ezra answers no longer with argument but with a prayer. The only hope is that God, who alone makes man, and with such pains, will also give him such inward help as shall enable him to gain righteousness and life (8 : 1–14). He will not pray, as he is prompted to, for all men, but will be satisfied if God will hear his prayer for his own people and for himself (8 : 15–19). His prayer is that God will overlook the deeds of the wicked, and will deal with Israel only with regard to the merit of those who have feared and trusted him. Only by such overlooking of sin would God deserve the name of merciful (8 : 20–36). The angel again answers that God will indeed forget the wicked, but not so as to remit their penalty. He will fix his thought upon the righteous and rejoice in them and their reward, as a husbandman sows much seed but has fruit from

[1] The struggle here between the religion of hope and the religion of law is most significant. Hope and law together made up the Jewish religion, but some Jews besides Saul of Tarsus had experience of the essential disharmony of the two. A legalism that includes a fixed and sure national calling and destiny is no pure legalism, and a hope that is conditioned upon the fulfilment of a law is no joyous hope, but may be changed into despair.

only a part (8 : 37–41). To this Ezra makes the obvious answer that seed fails to grow because of too much or too little of God's rain. But man is wholly God's creation; he is not to be likened to seed but should have God's mercy (8 : 42–45). The answer contains the assurance that in spite of contrary appearances Ezra's pitying love for God's creatures falls far short of God's own love. Ezra himself is praised for his humility but is again assured that he will be among the blessed. It is for such as he that the rewards of the world to come are prepared, and he is bidden to think no more of those who have wilfully disobeyed and denied God, and deserve his judgment (8 : 46–62).

Ezra then returns to the question when the end will come. The signs of its coming are again given, perils from which those who can escape by works or faith shall be preserved. When Ezra once more laments over the few that will be saved, God replies with a confession of partial failure in his creation. Sin spoiled his work, and he could rescue but a few and that with difficulty. In the few he will rejoice and let the many perish (8 : 63–9 : 25).

6. *The Fourth Vision: The Heavenly Jerusalem*

The fourth vision (9 : 26–10 : 59)

After seven days Ezra speaks to God again of his perplexity. He has in a sense given up the problem of mankind and retired upon the problem of Israel, and now he declares himself ready to accept even Israel's destruction if only the law, the divine seed which Israel failed to keep,

remain and have its vindication (9 : 26–37). It is when the religion of law seems thus to have vanquished the religion of the national hope that the prophet receives a reassuring vision of the coming glory of Zion. The vision is that of a woman mourning for the loss of her only son on his wedding-day. Ezra rebukes her for mourning for one son when Jerusalem is abased and earth laments the loss of many children, when the temple and all its sacred treasures have been destroyed. He bids her have courage and be comforted in view of the common sorrow (9 : 38–10 : 24). As he speaks the woman is suddenly glorified, and immediately in her place he sees a great city. The angel explains that the woman was Zion and her son the temple,[1] and that the city now before his eyes is the glorious Jerusalem which God himself has made. He is bidden to enter it and see what he is able of its beauties. But no further account of it is given.

7. *The Fifth Vision : Rome and its Fall*

The fifth vision (11–12)

After the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem comes a vision of the fall of Rome. The details are obscure but it is clear that the writer understands Rome to be the fourth of Daniel's four kingdoms, and regards this as a new interpretation (11 : 39 f. ; 12 : 11, 12) ; and it is also probable that the writer is living under Domitian, the last of the three

[1] This is not altogether natural and is probably an allegorical interpretation of a story already given.

Flavian emperors (the three heads of the eagle), or soon after his death. The Messiah appears as the one who charges Rome with its sins and announces God's just judgment (11 : 36–46), and then as the one who destroys Rome after he has reproved her (12 : 31–33).

8. *The Sixth Vision : The Coming of the Messiah*

The sixth vision (13)

Then follows a vision of the Messiah, based on Daniel 7 ; his appearance like a man, his destruction of opposing multitudes of heathen by his flaming words, his coming and gathering together his own, the ten tribes, in addition to those that remain in Palestine, a great multitude. The terrors of his coming are such that Ezra almost doubts whether it is better to live to experience it. The angel reassures him as to this point, and interprets the vision.

9. *The Seventh Vision : The Rewriting of the Sacred Scriptures*

The seventh vision (14)

Ezra is assured of his translation to be with the Messiah and his companions until the end comes. Before his departure from earth in answer to his prayer he is inspired to restore the Scriptures which were destroyed with Jerusalem. In forty days he dictates to five scribes the twenty-four canonical books, to be published for all to read, and seventy secret books, the apocalypses, to be kept for the inner circles of the wise; the law of life by which alone man

can escape the judgment to come, and the mysteries of eschatology, which made the chief contents of the revelation to Moses himself (14 : 5–6).

VI

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

This book is well worth reading in connection with Second Esdras. It is a closely related book, yet in important respects different. A summary of its contents is excluded by limitations of space. In comparison with the Apocalypse of Ezra the book represents a more orthodox or at least a more contented Judaism. There is no protest against legalism, no sense of its inadequacy, no doubt about the writer's own salvation. There is no such serious vacillation between hope and fear in the expectation of the coming day of the Lord.[1] There is no such sense of sin as Second Esdras expresses in its doctrine of the evil heart, and though Adam's sin has the same direful consequences, yet man's freedom and responsibility are unimpaired.

The book begins with various attempts to remove the offence to faith caused by the destruction of Jerusalem. It was for Judah's sins. It will last but for a time. It is for the good of the heathen. It is the heavenly, not the earthly, Jerusalem for which God cares. The destruction

[1] Yet see 14–19 ; 28 : 3 ; 48 : 12 ff. ; 75 : 5 f. ; 84 : 10 ; 85 : 3.

was only apparently by a heathen power; it was really by angels of God. The sacred utensils of the temple were removed and buried by an angel. God himself withdrew his presence before the fall. Pessimistic laments over this catastrophe lead over to the eschatology, in which the real solution of the problem is found. The age to come is at hand. It cannot indeed be hastened, but the predestined time is not far away. The signs of its coming are described, the tribulations preceding it, the reign of Messiah, and after his return to heaven, the resurrection of the just. There is a vision of Rome and its fall at the hand of Messiah. There are speculations about the nature of the resurrection somewhat like Paul's (Ap. Bar. 49–52, 1 Cor. 15). A vision follows picturing the course of world history, from the beginning to the time of the consummation (chs. 53–74). Throughout are many admonitions and prayers, in which the legalistic spirit prevails. The book ends with a letter from Baruch to the nine and a half tribes, justifying God's judgment over Jerusalem, announcing the coming judgment over Israel's enemies, and admonishing to penitence and fidelity.

VII

THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER

Among uncanonical Christian apocalypses we may select for treatment the Apocalypse of Peter, not only because it had wide currency in the early church as a genuine work of the apostle, and hence as canonical, but because of its epoch-making importance in the history of Jewish and Christian apocalyptical literature. Here, for the first time, detailed descriptions of the appearance of the redeemed in heaven, and especially of the various and fitting punishments of the wicked in hell, form the theme of the apocalyptist; and it appears that directly through the influence of this book this theme became the ruling subject of apocalyptical speculations in early and mediæval Christianity. There were, of course, beginnings in this direction in the Old Testament and in the Jewish apocalypses which we have already dealt with.[1] The Book of Revelation contains no more than these beginnings. The rewards of the righteous are described in the Messianic language of the Old Testament, and as to the wicked no details are attempted beyond the lake of fire that is to receive them all. It is to the Apocalypse of Peter that late Christian speculations about rewards and punishments after death are

[1] See, *e.g.*, Ezek. 32 : 23 ff.; Isa. 66 : 24; Dan. 12 : 2–3; En. 22; 10 : 6, 13; 18 : 11 ff.; 21 : 7–10; 90 : 24–27; 98 : 3; 103 : 7–8; 2 Esdr. 7; and especially Secrets of Enoch 10.

chiefly to be traced as their source. Even Dante's "Divine Comedy" has been called "the most marvellous fruit on the tree of which this book is the root."

Our study of apocalypses, however, and our recognition of the large place of tradition in them, leads us at once to ask after the sources from which this writer derived his materials. The closest analogies have been found in Greek, not in Jewish, writings. The Orphic-Dionysian religion, which was widespread at the time, cultivated the hope of immortality, and elaborated the ideas of heaven and hell. These Greek ideas may have been adopted directly by our author. It is possible, however, that some of the lost Jewish apocalypses would give evidence that such conceptions had already been developed in Judaism. In fact, a recently published Koptic apocalypse containing such material may be largely Jewish in origin.[1] It is to be observed, however, that the Orphic cult itself drew upon Oriental sources, and Babylonia may possibly have been the original home of these speculations.

The Apocalypse of Peter was known only through a

[1] Steindorff (*Die Apocalypse des Elias*, Leipzig, 1899) published two fragments which may belong to one book, an Apocalypse of Zephaniah, in which detailed descriptions of heaven and hell are given. The age and origin of this apocalypse are unknown, but it is regarded by many as a Jewish rather than a Christian work. It is not in itself improbable that this new type of apocalyptical writing was cultivated by Egyptian Jews, under Greek influence, before it was adopted by Christians and produced such a book as the Apocalypse of Peter. In any case Greek influence is the probable source of this radical change in the nature of apocalyptical speculations.

few allusions and brief citations in Clement of Alexandria and others until the year 1886, when about half of it was discovered in a burying-ground in Egypt. It probably dates from before 150 A. D., and seems to have been used by the writer of Second Peter. It may be read in English in the "Ante-Nicene Fathers" (vol. ix.).

Last things

Vision of the righteous dead

The extant fragment begins with the last sentences of a prediction by Jesus, and concerns false prophets and the coming of God as saviour and judge. The Lord then takes the twelve disciples into a mountain, and there, at their request, he shows them two of their departed brethren, that they may know the appearance of the righteous in the other world. They have a dazzling lustre and an inexpressible glory and beauty of body and raiment.[1] Peter asks to see the abode of these glorified ones, and is shown a place outside of this world, characterized by brilliant light, and fair flowers, and fragrant and fruitful trees, where men are clad like angels, and have angels as their companions. Here there were no distinctions of rank, but all had the same glory.

Vision of heaven

Vision of hell

Over against this heaven Peter saw the place of punishment. Here the punishments were appropriate to the sins. Blasphemers were hanging by their tongues. Adulterers hung by hair or feet over a lake of flaming mire. Murderers were cast into a gorge where they were bitten by reptiles and tormented by worms, while the souls of

[1] Cf. Matt. 17 : 2.

their victims declared God's judgments just. Persecutors stood up to the waist in flames and were lashed by evil spirits, and their bowels gnawed by worms. Blasphemers and slanderers bit their lips and had molten iron poured over their eyes. False witnesses gnawed their tongues, and their mouths were filled with fire. The unmerciful rich, in filthy rags, rolled about on sharp, red-hot stones. Usurers stood in a boiling lake of pitch and blood. Sodomites were cast down a great cliff and always driven up to be cast down again. Idolators were burned.

The manuscript breaks off in the midst of further details of the same sort. From the other fragments we learn that this apocalypse taught that children who die in premature birth are cared for by guardian angels, who instruct and discipline them until they are fitted to have part in heaven. The judgment, we further learn, is to be absolutely universal, over all men and over earth and heaven itself.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

BOOKS OF REFERENCE

The following notes aim simply to be of service to those who may wish further to pursue the study of the apocalypses in a historical spirit. No review of the vast literature of the subject is attempted.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

The historical events that form the background of this book are fully treated in E. R. Bevan's "The House of Seleucus" (2 vols., London, 1902); in German, in Niese's "Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten" (vol. iii., Berlin, 1904). See also Schürer's "History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ" (Scribners), I., i., pp. 186 ff., and Mahaffy's "The Empire of the Ptolemies" (Macmillan, 1895). Among the best general introductions to Daniel are Schürer's (II., iii., pp. 49 ff.), and the articles in Hastings's "Dictionary of the Bible," by Curtis, and in the "Encyclopedia Biblica," by Kamphausen. Among commentaries, those of Driver ("The Book of Daniel," 1900, Cambridge Bible), A. A. Bevan ("A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel," Cambridge, 1892), and J. D. Prince ("A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel," Leipzig, 1899), are especially valuable; in German, those of Behrmann (1894) and Marti (1901).

The historical background may best be studied in the articles on the seven cities in Hastings's "Dictionary," by Ramsay, and in the "Encyclopedia Biblica," by Woodhouse; and now, especially, in Ramsay's "The Letters to the Seven Churches" (Armstrong, 1905). In this book we have abundant evidence of Professor Ramsay's special knowledge of the Asian Province, both geographically and historically. On questions of criticism and interpretation, however, his views of Revelation should be carefully and cautiously weighed. The portion of Mommsen's "Provinces of the Roman Empire" (Scribners, 1887) relating to the Asian Province may also be read. Among introductory discussions of the Book of Revelation, the writer may refer to his own article in Hastings's "Dictionary," in which some matters are treated with greater detail than in the present volume. See, further, the article "Apocalypse" in the "Encyclopedia Biblica," by Bousset, whose book, "The Antichrist Legend" (London, 1896), should also be consulted as an important contribution to the history of some of the traditions made use of in Revelation. The articles, "Apocalypse" and "Millennium" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," by Harnack, should still be consulted, and also the discussions of our book in Jülicher's "Introduction to the New Testament" (London, 1904), and in Wernle's "Beginnings of Christianity" (Williams and Norgate, 1903). Of older works, it must suffice to say that the historical method of interpretation was set forth in classic form in the great work of Lücke, "Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes" (1832, 2d ed., 1852). In this treatise

the Jewish apocalypses were investigated, with full recognition of the fact that the Book of Revelation belonged to this class of literature, and could be understood only when looked at in this light; the book was regarded as having a message for its immediate present, and the Roman empire was recognized as the power of evil against which it was chiefly directed. It should be said that this historical method had a long, though scattered, history before Lücke, and that other scholars, contemporary with him, deserve equal credit, especially Ewald, Bleek, and de Wette. It is interesting to note that this historical method found an early and able advocate in America in Professor Moses Stuart ("A Commentary on the Apocalypse," 2 vols., Andover, 1845), whose work—dependent in considerable measure on Lücke—can still be read with great profit. Here and in Bleek's "Lectures on the Apocalypse" (London, 1875), the English reader will still find, on the essential matters, safe guidance. The same point of view is occupied by the earlier Meyer's "Commentary on Revelation," by Düsterdieck (1852), which is in English (Funk & Wagnalls, 1887). These earlier critical works are deficient chiefly through the absence of literary analysis, and of the tracing of traditional material back in part to foreign sources. On the other hand, unhistorical methods of treating the book, especially the understanding of it as directed against the Roman Catholic Church, have prevailed in Protestant England and America. The works of Milligan ("The Revelation of John," 1886; "Discussions on the Apocalypse," 1893; "The Book of Revelation" in the Expositor's Bible, 1899), and Archbishop Benson's "The Apocalypse" (1900), in which the Apocalypse is thought to describe church history in its principles rather than in concrete details,

in spite of their learning and ability, rest on untenable presuppositions. Even the commentary of Alford ("The Greek Testament," vol. iv.), and that of Simcox (Cambridge Bible, 1898), seek to unite in an unjustifiable way the historical view of the book with that which seeks in it a forecast of church history. The brief commentary by C. Anderson Scott ("Revelation," in The New-Century Bible) can be heartily commended. In German, Holtzmann (2d ed., 1893) and Bousset (in Meyer's "Commentary," 1896) are especially useful.

UNCANONICAL APOCALYPSES

Most of the Jewish apocalypses can be read in English in the admirable editions of Professor R. H. Charles: "The Book of Enoch" (Oxford, 1893); "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch" (Oxford, 1896); "The Assumption of Moses" (London, 1897); "The Apocalypse of Baruch" (London, 1896); "The Ascension of Isaiah" (London, 1900). To these should be added, though they are not properly apocalypses, Charles's "The Book of Jubilees" (London, 1902), and Ryle and James's "Psalms of the Pharisees" (Cambridge, 1891). "The Apocalypse of Ezra" may be read in our Apocrypha, Revised Version (2 Esdras, 3–14). There is no adequate commentary on this important book. Almost the only one in English is by Lupton in Wace's "Apocrypha" (1888). "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" are contained in English in Sinker's translation in the "Ante-Nicene Fathers," vol. viii. (Scribners). Readers of German may have the advantage of possessing these apocalypses and some other related books, translated and briefly annotated by competent scholars, in a single collection, at a reasonable price (Kautzsch's "Die Apokryphen und

Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments," 2 vols., Tübingen, 1900). A similar collection of the New Testament Apocrypha (Hennecke's "Neutestamentliche Apokryphen," Tübingen, 1904) contains the following early Christian apocalypses: The Apocalypse of Peter, the Shepherd of Hermas, The Ascension of Isaiah, 5 and 6 Ezra (= 2 Esdras, 1–2 and 15–16), and the Christian Sibylline Oracles. In English, the "Apocalypse of Peter" may be read in the "Ante-Nicene Fathers," vol. ix.; "Hermas," in vol. i.; and a number of later apocalypses in vols. viii. and ix.

Besides the introductory discussions of this literature in the editions of Charles and others, the student should consult Schürer's "History of the Jewish People" (II., iii., pp. 44 ff.). See also the articles in Hastings's "Dictionary of the Bible," on "Apocalyptic Literature" (Charles), "Apocrypha" (Porter), "Eschatology of the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature" (Charles), and articles on the several apocalyptic books by Charles and others; in the "Encyclopedia Biblica," "Apocalyptic Literature" (Charles), "Apocrypha" (James); and in the "Jewish Encyclopedia," "Apocalypse" (Torrey), and articles on the several books. Among the best discussions of the apocalyptic literature in German, are: Baldensperger's "Die Messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judenthums" (3d ed., Strassburg, 1903); Bousset's "Die Religion des Judentums" (Berlin, 1903); Volz, "Jüdische Eschatologie" (Tübingen, 1903); and also Gunkel's "Schöpfung und Chaos" (Göttingen, 1895).

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